Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers

Languages and Culture in History

This series studies the role foreign languages have played in the creation of the linguistic and cultural heritage of Europe, both western and eastern, and at the individual, community, national or transnational level.
At the heart of this series is the historical evolution of linguistic and cultural policies, internal as well as external, and their relationship with linguistic and cultural identities.
The series takes an interdisciplinary approach to a variety of historical issues: the difffusion, the supply and the demand for foreign languages, the history of pedagogical practices, the historical relationship between languages in a given cultural context, the public and private use of foreign languages – in short, every way foreign languages intersect with local languages in the cultural realm.

Series Editors
Willem Frijhoff, Erasmus University Rotterdam
Karene Sanchez-Summerer, Leiden University

Editorial Board Members
Gerda Hassler, University of Potsdam
Douglas A. Kibbee, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Marie-Christine Kok Escalle, Utrecht University
Joep Leerssen, University of Amsterdam
Nicola McLelland, The University of Nottingham
Despina Provata, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
Konrad Schröder, University of Augsburg
Valérie Spaëth, University of Paris III: Sorbonne Nouvelle
Javier Suso López, University of Granada
Pierre Swiggers, KU Leuven

Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers

Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)

Edited by
Georgia Gotsi and Despina Provata

Amsterdam University Press

Cover illustration: Map of modern Greece. Drawn by A.H. Dufour. Engraved by Ch. Dyonnet [Atlas universel, Pl. 29 - Géographie moderne, Pl. 20]. Librairie Abel Pilon, Paris 1863. Collection du Centre d'histoire de Thessalonique.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden
Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6298 807 1
e-ISBN 978 90 4854 011 2
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071
NUR 694

© The authors / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2021

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

Table of Contents

Note on transliteration and other editorial practices 7

List of figures 9

Introduction: Greece in the European press in the second half of the nineteenth century: Language, culture, identity 11
Georgia Gotsi and Despina Provata

1. Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos: 'Le trait d'union entre Paris et Athènes, l'intermédiaire naturel entre la Grèce et les Philhellènes des bords de la Seine' (Victor Fournel, *L'Espérance*, 1858) 33
Stessi Athini

2. Greek identities and French politics in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1846–1900) 65
Ourania Polycandrioti

3. The emergence of modern Greek studies in late-nineteenth-century France and England: The yearbooks of the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (1867) and of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (1877) 83
Alexandros Katsigiannis

4. La Grèce moderne dans la *Nouvelle Revue* (1879-1899) 107
Despina Provata

5. Medieval and modern Greece in the *Academy* 137
Georgia Gotsi

6. Modern Greek studies in Italy (1866–1897): Philhellenic revival and classical tradition through the lens of the *Nuova Antologia* 167
Francesco Scalora

7. An interesting utopian undertaking: The Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam and the journal *Ελλάς/Hellas* (Leiden, 1889–1897) 191
Lambros Varelas

8. Les études de grec moderne en Allemagne et la revue *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1892–1909) 215
Marilisa Mitsou

9. La Grèce et l'Europe à travers l'insurrection crétoise de 1895–1897, reflétées dans la presse de l'époque 241
Alceste Sofou

Index of Names 261

Index of Places 267

Index of Newspapers and Periodicals 269

Note on transliteration and other editorial practices

Since there is no standard, uniform system for representing the sounds of the modern Greek language in the Roman alphabet, here, for practical reasons, Greek words have been transliterated according to the Modern Greek Studies Association (MGSA) transliteration system, with the exception of the letters γ and υ, which have been reproduced as g and y, respectively. Where Greek names have long-established equivalents in English or French (Athens/Athènes, Greek Royal names such as Otto/Othon), these have been retained. Moreover, as we could not ignore, for historical reasons, the way nineteenth-century authors signed their own names in the Roman alphabet, nor how places and authors' names were referenced in nineteenth-century texts, we preferred, in such cases, to preserve the historical forms (for example, Bikélas/Bikelas) or to give both the historical and the established anglicised form of given names (for example, Jean Psichari/Giannis Psycharis). The reader can find all the alternative forms in the index to this book.

We decided to give all quotations from and titles of Greek works in monotonic orthography. We anglicised the punctuation in the chapters written in French; for example, we used English quotation marks and removed the space that is normally present in French (such as before a colon or semi-colon, after and before a quotation mark, etc.).

List of figures

Figure 1.1. General view of Athens. 51

Figure 4.1. Couverture du premier tome de la *Nouvelle Revue* [Front cover of the first volume of the journal *La Nouvelle Revue*]. 116

Figure 7.1. Front cover of the first volume of the journal *Ελλάς/Hellas*. 203

Figure 8.1. Couverture de la revue *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* [Front cover of the journal *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*]. 225

Introduction: Greece in the European press in the second half of the nineteenth century: Language, culture, identity

Georgia Gotsi and Despina Provata

Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century

By the mid-nineteenth century, the days of romantic philhellenism were over and Greece had ceased to be a subject of particular concern to Western commentators. This was a far cry from the time when Byron and Chateaubriand had marvelled at the ruins of Hellas and the Western world had unanimously saluted the courage, bravery and heroism of the Greeks in their struggle against the Ottomans. If in 1822 Percy Shelley exclaimed 'we are all Greeks'[1] and Benjamin Constant added three years later 'the cause of the Greeks is ours',[2] further into the nineteenth century the enthusiasm created by the philhellenism of its first three decades, which had reached its peak in the times of the Greek Revolution of 1821, seemed to have diminished.[3] The reasons were both ideological and political. For, as the romantic and neoclassical dreams cultivated by philhellenism and the desire for a return to antiquity weakened, simultaneously Greece no longer appeared in the eyes of European diplomacy as a necessary political and religious bulwark against the Muslim East.

However, if 'true philhellenism, so to speak, historical philhellenism had lasted as long as the war of independence', as Dimitrios Bikelas wrote,[4] and had perished with the foundation of the independent Greek state in 1830, during the second half of the nineteenth century an interest in things Greek

1 Shelley, 'Preface', iii.
2 Constant, *Appel aux nations chrétiennes en faveur des Grecs*, 15.
3 Basch, *Le Mirage grec*.
4 Bikélas, 'Le Philhellénisme en France', 363.

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_INTRO

became gradually evident and certain philhellenic manifestations appeared. These were triggered by the military and political adventures and national claims of the small Greek state, and were further strengthened by events in Crete and later in Macedonia.

More specifically, the second half of the nineteenth century, marked by geopolitical tensions over control of the Eastern Mediterranean, was a period of profound political, economic and social change for Greece. Greek political life and, more generally, society, popular culture and the literary world were dominated by the 'Great Idea', a term first used in 1844 by Prime Minister Ioannis Kolettis to express the irredentist Greek ideal. While the small kingdom that had been born in the aftermath of the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829) remained under the control of the three allied powers (Great Britain, France and Russia), Greek aspirations for territorial enlargement and the desire to unite all Greeks in one state were powerful. In the course of the nineteenth century this dream of national unification took different forms depending on political circumstances and points of view. It either referred to the 'redemption' of Greeks living in Ottoman territories and the restoration of the Eastern Empire with Constantinople as its national centre, or to the geographic expansion of the Greek kingdom with Athens as its national capital, or even (in the early 1870s) to the establishment of a 'Greco-Ottoman' state involving the political, financial and cultural takeover of the Ottoman Empire by the Greek nation.[5] In several cases during the second half of the nineteenth century this irredentist tendency led Greece into armed conflicts against the Ottomans and other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula.

In the irredentist spirit of mid-century, King Otto and his government welcomed the Crimean War (1854–1856) and stood by Russia in the hope that the 'Great Idea' could be fulfilled. The Crimean War defined a climactic moment of hostility in Greece's relations with the European imperial powers. The Greek government's sympathy towards Russia and the uprisings in the Turkish provinces of Thessaly and Epirus, which the royal couple openly encouraged, provoked the reaction of the Franco-British coalition forces, which occupied Piraeus and Athens between 1854 and 1857.[6] Indeed, the failure of Otto's irredentist policy only served to highlight the weakness of the Greek government in drawing up an effective claims policy, accentuating

5 See chiefly Skopetea, *Το 'πρότυπο βασίλειο'*, esp. 257–271. Also Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 4, on the 'geographical plasticity of the Great Idea'.

6 See, for example, Skopetea, *Το 'πρότυπο βασίλειο'*, 223, 287–289, and Dertilis, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού κράτους*, 368–370.

Greece's dependence on the great powers. As the 'Great Idea' clashed with the national claims of other Balkan nations, geopolitical tensions continued to mark Greek history in the following decades and underline its importance to European countries in their antagonism with Russia.

The climate of mutual political distrust generated by the Crimean War led to a marked decline of the earlier fervent sentiments of European philhellenism.[7] The publication of Edmond About's *La Grèce contemporaine* (1854), a work whose success extended beyond his native France, only served to underline the new context within which European countries now perceived Greece. Indeed, *La Grèce contemporaine* confirmed what European public opinion had been feeling for some time: concern for Greece was an outdated matter, the prestige that had fascinated the philhellenes had almost vanished. 'Nobody much believes in the Turks, but the old Phil-Hellenism is dead, and cannot be revived', declared the Conservative British Foreign Minister Lord Stanley in the late 1860s.[8] Worse, philhellenism had given way to scepticism, even to a certain anti-Hellenism or mishellenism. In the eyes of many Europeans, the Greeks were increasingly perceived as a degenerate and despised race, while the backwardness of the Greek kingdom was commented upon. Hellenic antiquity, which had nourished generations of Europeans, had been desacralised.

In 1863, Greece, newly rid of the unpopular Bavarian monarchy, welcomed with enthusiasm the incoming King George I. The title he adopted, King of the Hellenes rather than King of Greece, was interpreted as a sign of a certain political change. Although George I was the second monarch imposed on Greece, the country now appeared to be more credible as a state; hopes were raised that political stability would result. The annexation of the Ionian Islands in 1864 fed this euphoric feeling: the first step towards the unification of the country was taken and the expectations of the Christian Cretans to be reunited with the mother country Hellas were revived.

Unlike the Ionian Islands, however, Crete did not enjoy the support of the great powers who, for political reasons and in order to protect their interests in the East, were unwilling to further its cause. In August 1866, the General Assembly of the Cretans declared union with Greece. The siege of the monastery of Arcadi, followed by the holocaust of friends and enemies, in which defenders of the monastery preferred to blow up the women and children who had sought refuge in the powder magazine rather than hand

7 Skopetea, *Το 'πρότυπο βασίλειο'*, 163–170. For a more recent overview of nineteenth-century philhellenism, see Tolias, 'The resilience'.

8 Quoted in Newton, *Lord Lyons*, 1, 163.

them over to the Ottomans, provoked great emotional reaction in Greece and abroad. Philhellenic committees were set up, articles drawing attention to the new struggle were published in Europe and the United States, and volunteers landed on the island. The philhellenic movement underwent a revival which was comparable to the one which shook the West from 1821 to 1827, nonetheless, without ever acquiring the same force. Even if the steadfastness of European public opinion had not effectively pressured European leaders, even if the ardent appeals of the great Victor Hugo had not led to intervention by the European powers and tested the patriotism of George I, these philhellenic reactions succeeded, nonetheless, in enhancing Greece's international visibility.

In the following three decades, the Eastern Question flared up more than once. Most markedly in the context of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, different scenarios concerning the fate of the Balkans in the event that the Ottoman Empire should dissolve took Greece into account; these were in turn fanned by Greek irredentist visions in the East and hopes for the incorporation of territories and populations under Turkish rule within the Greek kingdom. Thessaly was finally annexed in 1881, but the question of Crete and Macedonia became more acute.

The economic growth evident especially from 1882 with the coming to power of Charilaos Trikoupis, and realised in the construction of railways, paved roads and the opening of the Isthmus canal of Corinth (connecting the Gulf of Corinth with the Saronic Gulf in the Aegean), contributed to projecting a positive image of a modern state abroad. However, the failure of Trikoupis's economic policy, which led the country to bankruptcy in 1893, and Greece's involvement in new conflicts in the Balkan region had negative results for the country.

By the turn of the century, the Greek government supported the outbreak of unrest in Crete, which was once again calling for union with Greece. Between 1895 and 1897 the persistence of troubles connected with the so-called 'Cretan question' provoked European interference in the island's affairs and revived philhellenic feelings, especially among the Italians and the French, as sentiments of ideological and religious solidarity among their peoples were supported by the idea of a common Mediterranean civilisation.[9] The Greco-Turkish War of 1897, which ended with Greece's humiliating defeat, forced the government to accept the conditions imposed by the European powers, cease hostilities and withdraw its troops from the island. The annexation was delayed, but Crete succeeded in achieving an autonomous regime in 1898.

9 Pécout, 'Amitié littéraire et amitié politique méditerranéennes'.

Objectives

Perceived either as a fundamental Western agent in controlling Slavic expansion in the Balkans or as an Orthodox Christian country intricately bound to Russia's interests in the East, Greece was under the diplomatic eye of the Western powers. Events before and after the Russo-Turkish War, the Cretan Revolutions of 1866 and 1895–1896 and a series of uprisings in Epirus, Thessaly and southern Macedonia brought modern Greece to the forefront of European political discourse. Therefore, the country was once again in the international spotlight, especially in the last quarter of the century, when armed conflicts became a feature of illustrated weeklies and major popular dailies and war correspondents began sending their reports from the front.[10]

These historical circumstances nurtured the rhetoric of philhellenic discourse, which found a renewed occasion to express liberal ideas that opposed subjection to oppressive powers and sought to project modern Greeks as a force for progress and stability in the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean more generally. Philhellenic manifestations supported mechanisms of cultural transfer, which in their turn contributed to the shaping or the modification of the perception of modern Greek peoples in Europe. At the same time, modern Greece – debatably the cultural offspring of ancient Hellas – provoked Europe's scholarly interest by means of an intense preoccupation with the development of European civilisation, well manifested in literary periodicals addressed to the cultivated European public. In their historical context, questions of modern Greece's cultural condition, its social and material progress as increasingly portrayed in the era's print media, were essentially of a political nature. If today it is timely to examine philhellenism over the long term and as a transnational phenomenon,[11] especially in light of the reverently conceived bicentenary celebrations of 1821 in Greece, an examination of philhellenism specifically in the second half of the nineteenth century may also be fruitful.

Our overall aim is to study the image(s) of Greece emerging through the pages of the press. We seek to better understand how European public opinion appropriated those elements which forged the physiognomy of modern Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century. We are especially interested in how European societies captured and depicted historical

10 Kalifa, 'Faits divers en guerre (1870–1914)'.

11 Espagne and Pécout (eds.), *Philhellénismes et transferts culturels dans l'Europe du XIX^e siècle*; Barau, *La cause des Grecs*; Maufroy, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand*.

events involving Greece by projecting their expectations or (often nostalgic) collective imagination; we are equally attentive to the ways Europeans approached medieval and modern Greek civilisation as part of an extended study of the Hellenic world. To what extent, and in what ways did European societies sustain their concern with the fate of this small nation-state and its people, whose independence they had so recently guaranteed?

The present volume encompasses a long period of time and press coverage by five different countries (France, England, Germany, Holland and Italy), all central, each in its way, in the European cultural realm. Up to now, the study of cultural interaction between Europe and Greece has been variously pursued: consider the rich discussion of the philhellenic phenomenon in its multiple dimensions; the examination of commentaries on Greece provided by various groups of travellers to the country; the examination of historiographic dialogues between European and Greek intellectuals; the research into philosophical, ideological and political influences exercised by significant intellectuals and major literary works (Byron's poems, for instance) on Greek self-perception. To date, while advancing to some extent beyond the narrow national context, such investigations of themes and personalities have been largely restricted either to the period spanning the Enlightenment and the first half of the nineteenth century when the Greek state was consolidated, or to particular case studies.

More recent work, often produced by scholars who contribute to this volume, has attempted to chronologically expand these research areas to the second half of the century or even beyond. Thus, several investigations have focused on the question of intellectual and cultural interaction between Greece and other European countries with primary emphasis on particular intermediaries,[12] while certain others have examined either scholarly networks and the individuals involved in them or cultural practices activated by the transfer of images of modern Greece to Europe.[13]

The volume seeks to account more fully for the mediation of modern Greece to Europe by examining the print media and their functioning as a singularly important channel for the dissemination of ideas across Europe. All nine essays collected here share as their common research focus the public European print space of the second half of the nineteenth century;

12 For instance: Karathanasis, *Η αρχή των νεοελληνικών σπουδών*; Provata, 'Η συμβολή του Δημητρίου Βικέλα στις διαπολιτισμικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας-Γαλλίας'; Mitsou, 'Négoce et transfert culturel'.

13 For instance: Gotsi, 'Οι Νεοέλληνες στον καθρέφτη του ξένου'; Mitsou, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών και πολιτισμικές μεταφορές στα τέλη του 19ου αι'; Katsigiannis, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών στο *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* του Μαρίνου Παπαδόπουλου Βρετού (1863–1871)', and Athini, 'Τα προεπαναστατικά φιλολογικά περιοδικά' on journals as means of cultural exchange.

more specifically of the period from the Crimean War (1853–1856) – with its exceedingly unfavourable outcome to Greece – to the Greco-Turkish War (1897) which ended with another severe defeat for the country contributing to its image in Europe as a dysfunctional state in the Balkans.

The book's overall purpose is to investigate aspects of medieval and modern Greek civilisation and society disseminated in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, a time when attention to Greece's modern culture was more varied than is generally realised. Separately and as a whole, its chapters point to a significant European interest in the language, literature and culture of the modern Greeks in the five decades under examination. More particular issues explored here involve the factors determining the specific elements of Greek culture that were singled out for mediation, the circumstances of their reception and the political ramifications of the cultural transfer in each case, as well as the mediating activities of certain individuals with special relationships with the press. Some of the information collected and analysed here may already be known to specialists through other studies in the continuously developing field of cultural transfers; many others are dealt with for the first time.

Although each of the case studies featured in the present volume traces particular aspects of modern Greece's projection to European audiences, most of the authors recognise that the 'civilisation of the press',[14] by its very nature, fermented conditions for linguistic border-crossing and recontextualisation: more often than not, items on modern Greece were recycled between various print media, constituted translations, summaries or reports of materials initially produced within a distinct cultural and national frame of reference, or were products of collaboration between individuals of different nationalities. What is more, in many instances perceptions of modern Greek history and culture which appeared in European print media were the outcome of networks of international discourse which shared knowledge, concepts and ideas on modern Greece. In other words, they were already products of a multilateral exchange of thought.

This collective work endeavours to contribute to transfer studies as well as to European historical and literary studies, especially by exploring intellectual networks, an area that has recently aroused the interest of researchers of modern Greek cultural history and transfers between Europe and the Greek world. Despite, or thanks to, its complexity, the study of networks makes it possible for one to grasp concretely the circulation of

14 For the term, see Kalifa *et al.* (eds.), *La civilisation du journal*.

ideas and information within the circles of European Hellenists, intellectuals, illustrious representatives of the Greek diaspora and even, occasionally, of travellers. Indeed, the processes by which these transfers were carried out and the forms of contacts between particular actors who were engaged in them demonstrate that this was an ideological trade that went far beyond the framework of bilateral relations to extend over several national entities, notably Greece, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and the Netherlands. Also, it allows us to observe the bonds of literary or political friendships.

Yet, the scope of the proposed investigation is by no means exhausted in the following pages, nor do the studies here included give a comprehensive picture of the networks of the friends of Greece formed in the second half of the nineteenth century. They do, however, provide a better understanding of how they were built and what kind of activities they undertook. Written in English and French, by researchers in various disciplinary fields, they explore several theoretical and methodological perspectives offering a wide image of current research in the field of cultural transfers between Greece and Europe through the press: images, representations and stereotypes, transfers and mediations, circulation of individual personalities and knowledge, cultural mediators and networks are all avenues that have been explored in order to highlight questions of bilateral and transnational cultural relations.

The press

In recent years, researchers all too often look into the phenomenon of the 'rise of periodical studies'.[15] As it has been noted, nineteenth-century magazines, periodicals and newspapers constituted the main means through which contemporary issues and cultural manifestations, both domestic and foreign, reached not only a 'small and elite intellectual community' who had access to books, but also a diverse general public.[16] Indeed, as mass media, newspapers and magazines of the period were aimed at all types of readers, their audience could be said to approximate the image of a social cross-section of the population. Specifically, it was periodicals that played a broad and active role as cultural mediators between social strata, regional and national entities,[17] endorsed the passage of ideas between disciplines

15 Latham and Scholes, 'The rise of periodical studies'.

16 See the informed discussion with relation to science in Cantor *et al.*, 'Introduction', xvii.

17 Loué, 'Les passeurs culturels au risque des revues'.

and facilitated the transmission, popularisation and in some cases the vulgarisation of scholarly views, scientific knowledge and technological discoveries.[18]

However, to date limited attention has been devoted to the exploration of the European press in relation to Greece. Addressing this research need, six chapters in this book undertake to demonstrate the agency of particular periodicals that formed a key part in European scientific and intellectual exchange, in the dissemination across Europe of ideas and judgements concerning medieval and modern Greece. A common methodological thread runs through the examination of the Dutch multilingual journal *Ελλάς/Hellas* by Lambros Varelas, the Italian *Nuova Antologia* by Francesco Scalora, the French *Revue des Deux Mondes* by Ourania Polycandrioti, the *Nouvelle Revue* by Despina Provata and the British *Academy* by Georgia Gotsi. It involves the systematic and meticulous examination of the journals' contents, a process that helps to unearth and highlight aspects of modern Greek culture engaging the attention of cultivated contributors and audiences. With the same methodological rigor, but from a different perspective, Alexandros Katsigiannis delves into a scholarly journal, the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, as a place of encounter for intellectuals devoted to the study of Greek culture.

Taken together, their analysis shows that interest in things Greek in the second half of the century expanded well beyond the realm of politics, embracing areas of the humanities: the history of language and literature, folklore, history and literature itself. The curiosity of the learned public to which these journals were primarily addressed is reflected in the kind of critical articles, reviews and translations included in their pages. Through their comparative assessment we are better able to identify the vital aspects of the intellectual interaction of European thinkers with Greece: 1) their strong interest in the historical linguistic development of the Greek language and in its dialects; 2) their efforts to establish modern Greek *katharevousa* (an archaic, purified form of Greek) as a global means of communication and to institutionalise the adoption of the modern Greek pronunciation in the teaching of ancient Greek in Europe; 3) the importance they attributed to modern Greek poetry, especially to folk songs and to poems written in various forms of the vernacular, considered to express the authentic spirit of the Greek people; 4) their recognition of certain poets (principally Aristotelis Valaoritis, but also Athanasios Christopoulos, Dionysios Solomos, Georgios

18 For examples, see the essays collected in Henson *et al.*, *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*; also Chapman, 'Transnational connections'.

Zalokostas, Georgios Vizyinos and Georgios Drosinis) and prose writers (such as Dimitrios Bikelas) as authoritative representatives of modern Greek national literature, as well as accomplished writers worthy of wider European appreciation.

Furthermore, as Christophe Charle has noted, the powerful influence of the press not only informed and affected but also created and disseminated new cultural forms.[19] In this instance it not only provided information about various aspects of Greek cultural activity but also played a major role in shaping public attitudes towards the ever-present question of Greece's cultural development since the post-classical era and its progress since the foundation of the young Greek kingdom. These issues informed the larger controversy concerning the position of the modern Greeks in European civilisation and, by extension, their national aspirations for territorial expansion as well as cultural and political predominance over other Balkan nations. Commentators were far from unanimous, while their stance regarding the modern Greeks, which varied from overtly expressed attitudes to implicit statements, was largely dependent on political preoccupations expressed in their native countries.

The newspaper press, although by its nature less prominent than specialised periodicals as a cultural forum, is also included in the scope of this research; under certain circumstances, especially during wartime, newspapers had a wider and more direct impact upon the public mind in shaping the reception of the foreign. Widely distributed newspapers were also more representative of public opinion than periodicals. **Alceste Sofou** examines such a case. Her chapter looks into the ways French newspapers covered the Cretan Revolution of 1895–1896 leading to the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, which ended with the humiliating defeat of the Greek army and the subjection of the country to international financial control in 1898. She argues that, for the most part, the French press lacked compassion with the suffering of the Christian insurgents in the cause of Crete's union with Greece. Serving as a powerful organ for the expression of French politics in the East, which supported the preservation of the status quo in the Balkans, it gave voice to feelings of disillusionment with a country unable to respond to Western expectations for a 'model state' in the East or for the revival of ancient Greece. Against this background, and offering a varied approach to the question of 'late' philhellenism, Sofou interprets public gestures of material and moral support towards the rebelling Cretans as more indicative of a short-lasting 'crétomanie' than a reignition of philhellenism.

19 Charle, *Le siècle de la presse*.

Francesco Scalora similarly attests to the waning and changing nature of Italian philhellenism in a later period, when different geopolitical interests and irredentist aspirations were diluting the traditional sympathy between the two countries. If in the first phase of the Italian unification movement (up until the early 1860s) Italian philhellenism drew on the appositeness of the Greek Revolution of 1821 as a moral and political template for a country sharing a classical past and also seeking its national independence,[20] in the following decades that inspiration persisted more as a cultural rather than as an ideological attitude. Turning his attention to accounts of the modern Greek world in the three decades between the Cretan Revolutions of 1866 and 1895–1896, Scalora attests to the contradictory or ambiguous nature of writing on modern Greece. Looking into the contents of *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, first published in 1866 in Florence as a continuation of the illustrious *Antologia Vieusseux* (1821–1832), a journal instrumental in the development of the Italian philhellenic phenomenon, Scalora discerns both negative criticisms of the Greek state's political instability and corruption as well as a genuine, albeit inconsistent and idiosyncratic, interest in the history of modern Greek literature, in Byzantium as well as in contemporary Greek cultural production. Symptomatic of this sporadic engagement with Greece was the journal's outbursts of philhellenic enthusiasm occasioned by a reactivated Risorgimento spirit during the Cretan Revolution of 1895–1896.

In this late period, nonetheless, can be found a small number of European high-culture periodicals whose engagement with medieval and modern Greece intended or managed to sustain a positive view of modern Greeks in a period when their 'true' identity was under close scrutiny. This positive attitude was often articulated as a confirmation of the common cultural essence linking Greek antiquity with Greek modernity and through this an acknowledgement that the vital intellectual energies of the Greek nation were not exhausted but continued to bear poetic fruits and scholarly products through medieval and into modern times.[21] As **Georgia Gotsi** shows in her investigation of the generalist Victorian periodical *The Academy* (1869–1916), alongside miscellaneous informative pieces on modern Greece, this publication hosted a series of detailed book reviews which familiarised

20 On the particular nature of Italian philhellenism, see Pécout, 'Philhellenism in Italy'.

21 Juliette Adam's perception of Greek poetic genius as a token of national continuity (Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 228), or Eugène Yéméniz's thought on the presence of the ancient spirit ('génie antique') in the Greek race as a factor securing its intellectual renaissance (Polycandrioti, Chapter 2 in this volume) are indicative of such a perception.

middle-class readers with the latest Western European and Greek research on the language, literature and history of the Greeks in medieval, early modern and recent times.[22] Although contributors to the *Academy* refrained from expressing explicit political views, and despite certain contested ideas regarding the social and cultural conditions in Byzantium and modern Greece, the periodical's sustained discussion of the development of the Greek language and the Greek language question, of vernacular creations since the twelfth century, plus contemporary Greek intellectual activities extended the Victorians' mental exposure to Hellas. The *Academy*'s perspective went beyond reverence for classical Hellas while at the same time not succumbing to contemporary views which tended to belittle the bankrupt condition of Greece. Most of the scholarly pieces featured in the *Academy* instilled in its readers an awareness of Greek cultural continuity from antiquity to the present and were instrumental in cultivating, on the basis of such an awareness, a positive welcome for modern Greeks as a people able to assume their rightful place in modern European civilisation.

The case of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, explored by **Ourania Polycandrioti**, is quite distinct as this journal was in itself a cultural institution which produced symbolic values for its audience.[23] Polycandrioti remarks that the image of Greece reflected by the journal was changeable over its long period of publication from 1829 to 1899 but was always informed by the journal's classicist character, its idealisation of ancient Greece and its attachment to institutionalised French attitudes, all of which led to biased perceptions of modern Hellenism. Until the middle of the century, modern Greece was seen as part of the Western world which shared the precious heritage of Greek antiquity, whereas its depiction in travel narratives and items on the Eastern Question corresponded to the interests of French diplomacy in the Mediterranean. In the second half of the century, and especially in the 1870s, when French foreign policy took a special interest in the inflamed situation in the Balkans, modern Greece was viewed more as part of the composite Balkan world and the cultural genealogy of its inhabitants was questioned, whereas its present reality falling short of its exalted antiquity was often treated as an anticlimax. Philhellenic writings in the journal that countered such criticism continued to orbit within the tradition of European romanticism, searching for living traces of the ancient spirit in folk poetry as well as in a 'bucolic' Greek landscape.

22 On the valuable role of book reviews in cultural transfer, see Thomson and Burrows, 'Introduction', 10–11.

23 Loué, 'Les passeurs culturels au risque des revues', 205.

As **Marilisa Mitsou** also argues, Europe's ardent devotion to Hellas had not necessarily excited a corresponding interest in modern Greece. Although the literary philhellenism[24] of the early nineteenth century had foregrounded the oral traditions of the Greek folk, it had not succeeded in changing the predominant focus of Western European literati who for a long time continued to meditate solely on Greece's ancient past. Although Mitsou, for her part, stresses the reverence of the French for the classical tradition, one, nonetheless, did not have to wait too long for the initiatives undertaken by certain Hellenists before modern Greece, its language and literature could become subjects of enquiry in the 1860s; even then, however, the study of Greek civilisation conformed to the concept of its diachronic unity from ancient to modern times. Such a shift of disposition seems to have been more difficult in Germany, where the 'obsession' with the Greek ideal 'had become part of the national patrimony'.[25] In the country of Winckelmann, as Mitsou explains, the dominant neo-humanism prevented, even up to the 1870s, any autonomous approach to modern Greece, although a number of German scholars had published works relating to the language and folk poetry of the modern Greeks. The reorientation was made possible mainly thanks to the works and teaching of the Byzantinist Karl Krumbacher, founder of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Concentrating on the period from the end of antiquity to the modern age, the journal played a major role in the treatment of Byzantine and neo-Hellenic studies as an autonomous scholarly field. Innovative both in conception and in its contents, this journal sought the connecting links between medieval times and the contemporary era. Its scholarly nature was confirmed by its international character and the variety of subjects treated, covering as they did a vast research area in the Byzantine and modern period. Strongly defined by its founder's personality, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* published in its pages articles by numerous European and erudite Greek scholars who shared Krumbacher's views, but inevitably lost its concern for modern and contemporary Greece shortly after his death (1909).

Scholarly journals such as the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, much more than just meeting points of individual research itineraries, were fruitful places for intellectual exchange. In certain cases, as we discuss below, they further promoted the interaction between members of groups and networks with correspondent aspirations. Founded around common interests – or even shared projects – these elective affinities gave rise to learned associations

24 Tolias, 'The resilience', 55.

25 Marchand, *Down from Olympus*, xix.

which strove to diffuse Greek studies in Europe. While in Germany, as Mitsou points out, it took up until World War I for the creation of the first Greco-German association (1914) in other countries, such as France, the ground had been more fertile.

Societies and individual agents

The periodical press offers much evidence for tracing the function of formal and informal scholarly networks as forms of connectivity between individuals and discourses across geographical space. Societies of intellectuals constituted an institutionalised manifestation of such networks and, because of their scholarly status and multinational character, operated as effective cultural agents in disseminating ideas across language boundaries. The role of societies in the process of cultural transfer is best illustrated by the three 'philhellenic' associations studied in this volume: they were products of joint scholarly ventures, financed by ethnic and diaspora Greeks as well as philhellenes, and registered members from different national and diaspora milieux. All three testified to the need for cooperation among European Hellenists, philhellenes and Greeks. **Alexandros Katsigiannis** sheds light on the networks of scholars and merchants who were members of the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (founded in 1867 in Paris) and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (founded in 1879 in London). Since the late 1850s, the revival of study of Greek folk songs and the rediscovery of Byzantium by European and Greek scholars had supported arguments for Greek historical continuity and had led to the production of many studies and editions of older texts written in the vernacular. Members of the French organisation published in the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* (its yearbook, 1868–1887) a series of articles united in their shared goal to promote not only the study of ancient Greece and Byzantium but also that of modern Greek language and literature from the fifteenth century to the present. Articles published by members of the British organisation in its philological organ, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, reveal an intense interest in archaeological research and classical studies, despite the fact that the journal had intended to study Greek civilisation in its diachrony from antiquity to its 'neo-Hellenic' stage. Mainly due to the efforts of the French network's members and their extensive contacts with Greek and other European scholars, modern Greek studies gradually emerged in Europe as an autonomous research field, independent from the study of ancient Greece.

These two widely and internationally subscribed societies acted as models for the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam, founded in 1888, and its multilingual organ, the journal *Ελλάς/Hellas* (1889–1897). The Society's main aspiration, the establishment of modern Greek *katharevousa* (an archaic, purified form of Greek used for official and literary purposes) as a global scientific language, adapts a plan previously developed in the circles of Greek and French intellectuals (see Provata below) responding to the era's needs for a means of international communication. **Lambros Varelas**, in his comprehensive treatment of the profile and the objectives of the Society and its journal, discusses the leading role of H.C. Muller in their operation. Similar to other cultural mediators discussed in the present volume (Athini, Provata), Muller mobilised his writing skills, his access to numerous European publications and his network of personal contacts and correspondents to promote this central objective, an integral component of his belief in the regenerative role of Helleno-Christian Greece in the Eastern Mediterranean. The journal was in essence a forum of European-wide exchange as it involved an array of Greek and European scholars who expressed themselves on Greek linguistic and cultural issues and offered a considerable number of literary translations from modern Greek. The inglorious decline of the Society's project indicates the resistance cultural transfer is prone to meet when it is constrained by circumstances and forced to comply with multiple objectives, as the international intersects with the national and the local. Muller's advocacy of *katharevousa* Greek as a world language proved to be detrimental to his own objectives since it generated conflict with the supporters of the demotic (the vernacular Greek). The examination of these societies' journals highlights the particularity of the latter based as it was on one person's and not a team's inspiration. Still, all three cases illustrate how positive representations of modern Greece were created and diffused, running counter to other network-generated patterns such as the disdain for contemporary Greece as a backward country, or as an entity separate from the exquisite admirable civilisational paradigm of antiquity.

***

Cultural transfers designate movements that take place across space and time but also particular acts performed by certain mediators or *passeurs culturel*s, shaped by their individual preoccupations and managed by their communication strategies. Thus, a privileged way to gain insight into transfer activities is to focus on the agents, i.e. the cultural mediators who undertake them. As Stefanie Stockhorst stresses, 'the significant processes, especially in

the field of translation, are always carried out and formed by individuals'[26] and as Ann Thomson and Simon Burrows recognise, 'we are still mainly at the stage of studying individual "egocentric" networks, generally centred on particular figures, which provide a valuable insight into their functioning and show their interconnectedness and the ramifications to many different parts of Europe'.[27]

In this line, this volume combines the analysis of periodicals as collective agents of the transmission of images with the study of the role played by specific intellectuals committed to the promotion of a positive mindset towards modern Greece in the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century, respectively. Stesi Athini and Despina Provata bring to the foreground two well-known but lesser-studied mediators around whom networks, formal or informal, were woven: the Greek Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos (1828–1871) and the French Juliette Adam (1836–1936), respectively. The mediating activities of a few others, such as the Greek diaspora intellectual Dimitrios Bikelas who collaborated with Adam, and the British classicist and geographer H.F. Tozer, are also discussed in some of the volume's essays. As their cases demonstrate, unlike formal networks such as the scholarly associations discussed by Katsigiannis and Varelas, informal networks were often organised around a central personality acting as a 'go-between' among individuals with common interests. The place and status of each member in these networks as well as the particular exchanges between different agents deserve to be the subject of another study. Still, it is interesting to note that Vretos and Adam, as also Bikelas and Krumbacher, were also members of transnational networks. Exactly by linking bodies and materials derived through different channels, they succeeded in spreading favourable images of Greece in France, when modern Hellenism was met with suspicion, and through France in Europe.

Stessi Athini, more specifically, investigates Vretos's versatile mediating activity as editor of multiple print media and diverse printed publications in French in his capacity as a journalist and diplomatic representative of the Greek state in France. A multilingual public intellectual, Vretos was mainly active in the 1850s and 1860s, a period in which the reception of modern Greece in Europe suffered from the 'miso-philhellenic' climate generated by the Crimean War, and by the hostile reports of French travellers and journalists following Edmond About's devastating account of the country in his *La Grèce contemporaine* (1854). Athini describes Vretos's endless

26 Stockhorst, 'Introduction: Cultural transfer through translation', 25.

27 Thomson and Burrows, 'Introduction', 7.

efforts through a series of print vehicles and via different writing genres to improve the image of modern Greeks by demonstrating the distortions in foreigners' limited perception of Greek social reality, by mobilising French intellectuals in supporting Greek national causes, by documenting the cultural, educational, commercial and material progress of contemporary Greece and by promoting its literary production, arts and crafts.

The author, republican and feminist Juliette Adam offers a comparable example of a conscious cultural mediator, who made strategic use of the socially powerful members of her salon, her own writings as well as of the *Nouvelle Revue* (the well-read international journal she founded) for political purposes. Adam's deep affection for an idealised ancient Greece, portrayed in her novels, ignited her love for modern Greece, which found political expression in her defence of Hellenism and advocacy of Greek irredentist ambitions via the pages of the *Nouvelle Revue.* **Despina Provata**, in a systematic investigation of the periodical's contents in the years between 1879 and 1899, when it was edited by Adam, reveals its pro-Greek inclinations. Promoting the idea of modern Greece's civilising mission in the Balkans, the journal argues for the country's rapid cultural, economic and political progress, placing it among modern European nations. The rehabilitation of Byzantium as an important middle phase in the Greek nation's continuous historical development, affirms its long historical presence (and rights) in this geographical region. The *Nouvelle Revue* also showed an interest in the Greek language question supporting through the pen of Psycharis (Jean Psichari) the use of the demotic as the only vehicle suitable for the construction of a national literature. More forceful was the promotion of modern Greek literature in its pages as a testimony to the unadulterated cultural continuity of the Greek nation. The advertising promotion of Greece as an attractive place with public amenities worth visiting by the common tourist offered yet one more means for promoting its modern character.

***

Europeans in the second half of the nineteenth century did not share a common view of Greece. Their reactions to it depended on a variety of particular national, political and social affiliations. The print publications here discussed offered platforms for advancing the study of modern Hellenism and representing the Greeks as people who possessed qualities of character inherited from antiquity and also practical abilities to be allowed a place in modern European civilisation. This book argues that the process of cultural transfer enacted through the print was often an expression of

a 'late'-nineteenth-century philhellenism: a phenomenon which, in this light, could be analysed as a relational system owing to historical factors but rather more to the exchanges of a number of Hellenists, neo-Hellenists, linguists and archaeologists engaged with modern Greece. The discussion of the subject is far from exhaustive and the methods applied to its study vary according to the particularities of the specific topics under examination. Nonetheless, in their multiple links, the chapters of the book bring to the fore a hitherto unnoticed dimension of Europe's perception of Greece. They illustrate a shared will in certain European intellectual circles to adhere to an affirmative approach to modern Greece, which despite everything remained the provenance of Western civilisation all the while aspiring towards the Western model of progress.

Bibliography

Athini, Stessi, 'Τα προεπαναστατικά φιλολογικά περιοδικά: εκδοχές διαλόγου με τις ξένες γραμματείες' [The Greek pre-revolutionary literary journals: Aspects of a dialogue with foreign literatures], *Σύγκριση/Comparaison/Comparison*, 13 (2002), 156–176.

Barau, Denis, *La cause des Grecs. Une histoire du mouvement philhellène (1821–1829)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009).

Basch, Sophie, *Le Mirage grec. La Grèce moderne devant l'opinion française (1846–1946)* (Paris: Hatier-Kauffmann, 1995).

Bikélas, D[imitrios], 'Le Philhellénisme en France', *Revue d'Histoire diplomatique*, 5 (1891), 346–365.

Cantor, Geoffrey, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham, 'Introduction', in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, ed. by Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), xvii–xxv.

Chapman, Jane, 'Transnational connections', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (London/New York: Routledge, 2016), 175–184.

Charle, Christophe, *Le siècle de la presse (1830–1939)* (Paris: Seuil, 2004).

Constant, Benjamin, *Appel aux nations chrétiennes en faveur des Grecs* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1825).

Dertilis, G.B., *Ιστορία του ελληνικού κράτους 1830–1920* [History of the Greek state, 1830–1920], 9th revised and expanded edition (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2015).

Espagne, Michel, and Gilles Pécout (eds.), *Philhellénismes et transferts culturels dans l'Europe du XIX^e siècle, Revue germanique internationale*, 1-2 (2005) (Paris: CNRS Éditions).

Gotsi, Georgia, 'Οι Νεοέλληνες στον καθρέφτη του ξένου: Συμβολή στη μελέτη των ελληνοβρετανικών πολιτισμικών δικτύων, 1870–1900' [Modern Greeks in a Victorian mirror: A contribution to the study of Anglo-Greek cultural networks, 1870–1900], in the Proceedings of the Symposium *Ελληνικότητα και Ετερότητα: Πολιτισμικές διαμεσολαβήσεις και 'εθνικός χαρακτήρας' στον 19ο αιώνα* [Greekness and Otherness: Cultural mediation and 'national character' in the nineteenth century], ed. by Anna Tabaki and Ourania Polykandrioti, 2 vols. (Athens: University of Athens/NHRF, 2016), 1, 95–116.

Holland, Robert, and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1850–1960* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Kalifa, Dominique, 'Faits divers en guerre (1870–1914)', *Romantisme*, 97 (1997), 89–102.

Kalifa, Dominique, Philippe Régnier, Marie-Ève Thérenty, and Alain Vaillant (eds.), *La civilisation du journal. Histoire culturelle et littéraire de la presse française au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Nouveau Monde, 2011).

Karathanasis, Athan. E., *Η αρχή των νεοελληνικών σπουδών. (Πενήντα τρία σχολιασμένα γράμματα του Wagner στο Legrand)* [The beginnings of modern Greek studies (Fifty-three annotated letters by Wagner to Legrand)] (Thessaloniki: Afoi Kyriakidi, 1992).

Katsigiannis, Alexandros, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών στο *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* του Μαρίνου Παπαδόπουλου Βρετού (1863–1871). Μια υπόθεση εργασίας' [The presence of French Hellenists in Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos's National Almanac: A research hypothesis], in the Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium *Μετάφραση και περιοδικός τύπος τον 19ο αιώνα* [Translation and the periodical press in the nineteenth century], ed. by Anna Tabaki and Alexia Altouva (Athens: University of Athens/NHRF, 2016), 135–144.

Latham, Sean, and Robert Scholes, 'The rise of periodical studies', *PMLA*, 121:2 (2006), 517–531.

Loué, Thomas, 'Les passeurs culturels au risque des revues (France, XIX^e et XX^e siècles)', in *Passeurs culturels dans le monde des médias et de l'édition en Europe (XIX^e et XX^e siècles)*, ed. by Diana Cooper-Richet, Jean-Yves Mollier, and Ahmed Silem (Villeurbanne: Presses de l'Enssib, 2005), 195–208.

Marchand, Suzanne L., *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, ²2003).

Maufroy, Sandrine, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand* (Paris: Belin, 2011).

Mitsou, Marie-Élisabeth, 'Négoce et transfert culturel. Dimitrios Bikélas et le réseau intellectuel franco-grec dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle', *Rives méditerranéennes*, 50:1 (2015), 13–25.

Mitsou, Marilisa, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών και πολιτισμικές μεταφορές στα τέλη του 19ου αι. (Karl Krumbacher, Émile Legrand, Ν.Γ. Πολίτης)' [Networks of (neo-)Hellenists and cultural transfers at the end of the nineteenth century (Karl Krumbacher, Émile Legrand, N.G. Politis)], in *'...ως αθύρματα παίδας': Eine Festschrift für Hans Eideneier*, ed. by Ulrich Moennig (Berlin: Edition Romiosini/CeMog, 2016), 313–325.

Newton, Lord, *Lord Lyons: A Record of British Diplomacy*, 2 vols. (London: Edward Arnold, 1913).

Pécout, Gilles, 'Philhellenism in Italy: Political friendship and the Italian volunteers in the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 9:4 (2004), 405–427. [doi: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1354571042000296380] (20 December 2019).

––, 'Amitié littéraire et amitié politique méditerranéennes: philhellènes français et italiens de la fin du XIX^{e} siècle', *Revue Germanique Internationale*, 1–2 (2005), 207–218.

Provata, Despina, 'Η συμβολή του Δημητρίου Βικέλα στις διαπολιτισμικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας–Γαλλίας' [The contribution of Dimitrios Bikelas to the intercultural relations between Greece and France], *Η Μελέτη* [The study], 5 (2010), 429–460.

Shelley, Percy, 'Preface', *Hellas: A Lyrical Drama* (London: Charles and James Ollier, 1822).

Skopetea, Elli, *Το 'πρότυπο βασίλειο' και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα (1830–1880)* [The 'model kingdom' and the Great Idea: Aspects of the national problem in Greece (1830–1880)] (Athens, 1988).

Stockhorst, Stefanie, 'Introduction: Cultural transfer through translation: A current perspective in Enlightenment studies', in *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, ed. by Stefanie Stockhorst (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2010).

Thomson, Ann, and Simon Burrows, 'Introduction', in *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski, with Sophie Audidière (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), 1–15.

Tolias, George, 'The resilience of philhellenism', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 13 (2017), 51–70. [doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.12681/hr.11556] (12 April 2019).

About the authors

Georgia Gotsi is Professor of Modern Greek and Comparative Literature at the University of Patras, Greece. She has held visiting posts at Brown University and fellowships at the Remarque Institute of New York University, and at Harvard University's Center for Hellenic Studies in Nafplio. Her

research interests focus on the reception and translation of European and North American literatures in Greece, the cultural biography of antiquities, and the Jewish as well as the immigrant presence in contemporary Greek fiction. Recent publications: *Life in the Capital: Topics in Late-Nineteenth-Century Prose Fiction* (Athens, 2004, in Greek), *'The Internationalization of Imagination': Relations of Greek and Foreign Literatures in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, 2010, in Greek), *Elizabeth M. Edmonds: The Victorian Biographer of Rigas. Introduction –Text – Notes* (Athens, 2020). She has also published a number of articles on nineteenth-century Greek prose fiction and popular fiction, on Anglo-Greek cultural relations, and on literary uses of material antiquities. Email: gotsi@upatras.gr.

Despina Provata is Professor of History of French Civilization at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, specialising in the cultural transfers between France and Greece in the nineteenth century. She has participated in numerous research programmes on translation history and cultural transfers through the press while she was the scientific supervisor of a research project on Victor Hugo in the Greek world. She has published monographs, co-edited collective volumes, chapters for books and several scientific articles on her research interests that include comparative literature, the history of ideas, cultural transfers between France and Greece, translation studies, the history of the French language and the Greek francophone press. Main publications: *Etienne-Marin Bailly. A Saint-Simonian in revolutionary Greece* (Athens, 2008, in Greek); *La culture dans l'enseignement du français. Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde*, 60/61 (December 2018, editor). Email: dprovata@frl.uoa.gr.

1. Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos: 'Le trait d'union entre Paris et Athènes, l'intermédiaire naturel entre la Grèce et les Philhellènes des bords de la Seine' (Victor Fournel, *L'Espérance*, 1858)

Stessi Athini

Abstract

Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos (Corfu, 1828–Paris, 1871) represents a remarkable case of a conscious cultural mediator between Greece and France, during a critical time (1850–1870). Through a variety of print media (Greek, French or bilingual), he sought to inform the French-language public about the cultural identity of modern Greeks and to confute the distorted image provided by travel literature. Thanks to his excellent education in French, he managed to penetrate the French press, writing about Greek issues. He mobilised around him a network of French philhellenes, Hellenists and journalists who rebroadcasted his positions. Through his Greek-language *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* [National Almanac], he 'coordinated' an important discussion on the language question, preparing the road for the foundation of the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques.

Keywords: Folk song, French public opinion, imagology, press and periodicals, language question, miso-philhellenism

Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos is a distinctive case of a public intellectual who was active between Greece and France during a critical era: the one defined by France's diplomatic move in founding the École d'Athènes (1846), the rejection of philhellenic schemata in the West and the start of

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH01

'miso-philhellenism' from 1850 onwards,[1] until the collaboration of Greek intellectuals and Hellenists – mainly French – for the promotion of Greek studies in France in the context of the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (from 1867).[2] He provides an unexplored example of a conscious and steadily self-promoting multipolar mediator,[3] with the objective of transferring the cultural identity of modern Greeks by spreading it through various kinds of printed cultural products.

Born in British-occupied Corfu in 1828, he lived for most of his life in France. His father was the scholar, bibliographer and diplomat Andreas Papadopoulos Vretos (1800–1876), well-known in French intellectual circles. From 1836 to 1841, Vretos, residing in Paris, studied at French schools, acquiring in this way an important asset for his future course: an excellent knowledge of the French language. He received a degree from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Athens (1849) and went on to study law at Pisa. In 1852, thanks to Queen Amalia, he won a three-year scholarship to continue his studies in Paris, where he remained until the summer of 1855. For the next five years, he lived in Athens. Between 1860 until the start of 1869, he again resided in Paris, followed by short stays in Livorno and Marseilles (1870). In this important centre of the Greek diaspora, he fell ill. Following his brief recuperation in a hospital in Nice and Montpellier, he ended up in Paris at the mental hospital of the Greek doctor Xenophon Rotas in 1871.

His three-year stay in the French capital (1852–1855) during the critical years of the Crimean War was decisive. He made a series of acquaintances with French Hellenists, philhellenes and journalists – some of whom had visited Greece and retained some interest in Greek affairs – that he would make use of in the aftermath. From the older generation of Hellenists, from the circle of Claude Fauriel and Adamantios Korais, he met J.F. Boissonade (1774–1857), professor of the chair of ancient Greek language and letters at the Collège de France (1828–1855),[4] and the Hellenist Wladimir Brunet de Presle (1809–1875). Boissonade introduced him to 'his student', Prosper Mérimée (1803–1870), writer, archaeologist, historian and, now, academic, who had journeyed through Greek regions from 1840 to 1842. Among his acquaintances was also the well-known philhellene Abel-François Villemain

1 Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 35–128.

2 For the phases of philhellenism, cf. Tolias, 'The resilience'.

3 See Verschaffel *et al.*, 'Towards a multipolar model'.

4 For Vretos's circle of acquaintances, cf. Dimopoulou, 'Autour de Marino Papadopoulo-Vreto', and H.A., 'Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos'.

(1790–1870) and the diplomat and Hellenist Marie-Louis Jean André Charles Demartin du Tyrac, Count of Marcellus (1795–1861).[5] He developed close relations with the academic and journalist Saint-Marc de Girardin (1801–1873), who had travelled in Greece in 1839, Edmond About (1828–1885),[6] who had been a member of the École d'Athènes, and others. Vretos's network of acquaintances would serve to rebroadcast his views within the French press.[7]

Vretos was basically bilingual, as attested to by his self-translations (French and Greek). But aside from his excellence in French (he is often compared to the classical scholar Henri Estienne), he also had a good knowledge of English and Italian. He was a very active member of the Greek community of Paris. Together with the physician Dimitrios Zambakos,[8] he founded, in 1864, the first Greek philanthropic organisation, the Association de bienfaisance grecque de Paris, while somewhat later, he would be recorded as one of the founding members of the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France. Thanks to his connections with Paris's journalistic world, the Greek state repeatedly assigned him, officially, or semi-officially or secretly, the role of mediator abroad, a matter that he never ceased to seek and to promote in his writings. Initially, he assumed the position of unpaid secretary of the Greek Committee in the Paris International Exhibition (1855) and in 1859 he was sent on a secret mission to the French capital to discover the authors of anti-Greek articles. He was appointed secretary of the Greek general consulate in Paris (1863–1867) by the counsellor to King George I, Count Sponnek, in order to promote Greek interests and afterwards consul to Livorno (1869) and Marseilles (1870). For his role as a mediator, he was given a medal by King George I on New Year's Day, 1866.

Vretos, as mentioned in a self-satirical apologistic note, passed his life 'scribbling on paper',[9] writing articles for newspapers and correcting essays amid the odours of printing ink. He began his journalistic career during the 1840s publishing original writings, translations and a variety of articles in Athens newspapers and periodicals. He is regarded to be among the first to introduce into Greek literature the 'urban mystery novel' and the feuilleton. His texts in Greek had remained until recently dispersed in

5 See Van Steen, *Liberating Hellenism*; Politis, 'Η δημόσια ανάγνωση των *Περσών*'.

6 See Samiou, *L'Image des Grecs*.

7 The publications referring to Vretos's work in the foreign press were often republished by him in his *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* and elsewhere (*Le Moniteur Grec*, *Mélanges néohelléniques*). For my research in the French press, I used the digital libraries Gallica and Retronews.

8 Papadopoulou, *Les Grecs à Paris*, 130, 145.

9 Vretos, 'How to scribble on paper', 486.

newspapers and periodicals.[10] During the time of his scholarship and studies in Paris (1852–1855) – a period not at all friendly to Hellenism – thanks to his acquaintances, he began to work with the French press, mainly on issues of cultural and social interest. He collaborated with the publications *Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel*, *Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, *L'Athenaeum français*, *Revue française*, *L'Illustration: journal universel* and later with *Journal pour tous*, *Revue moderne*,[11] *Annuaire encyclopédique*,[12] and others, under the name of Marino Vréto or Marino P. Vréto or Vretos.[13] He quickly gained a reputation as a reliable source of information in France on Greek issues,[14] and in 1858 was included in the *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains* by G. Vapéreau. He was the publisher of two French-language newspapers, an annual almanac (in Greek), brochures and reprints. To avoid having his work lost in the ephemera of the day, he republished many of his French articles in independent volumes. He also issued an album on Athens, a travel guide and a book of dialogues in four languages.

The primary motivation for his French-language works was to encourage interest in modern Hellenism, improve its image and defend it against charges and criticism, as articulated in newspapers and travel narratives. His consistent ambition was to show the distortions in the negative views of foreigner observers, which he often attributed to ignorance or to a lack of understanding of Greek realities. Characteristically, he noted:

> Do not accept blindly, my friend, the narratives of travellers to foreign lands in which they have only stayed for a brief time and were not able to become familiar with the mores, customs and languages of the inhabitants, particularly, indeed when they deal with the moral standing of a nation, since nothing is more difficult and arduous.[15]

He assumed the role of the knowledgeable expert on Greek matters by reason of his nativity.

10 Cf. Varelas, *Μαρίνος Παπαδόπουλος Βρετός*. The introduction to the volume presents extensively the biographical-bibliographical data on which I have relied.

11 Of particular interest are the historico-political surveys 'Othon I. Roi de Grèce' and 'Le conflit turco-grec'.

12 See the entry 'Grèce'.

13 For reasons of consistency, we use everywhere the name Marinos P. Vretos.

14 'Mouvement littéraire et scientifique en Grèce'.

15 'Μην αποδέχου, φίλε μου ουδέποτε, τυφλοίς όμμασι, τας διηγήσεις οδοιπόρων, περί ξένων τόπων, εις ους δεν διέμεινον παρ' ολίγον χρόνον και ούτω δεν εδυνήθησαν να προσοικειωθώσι με τα ήθη, έθιμα και γλώσσαν των κατοίκων· προ πάντων μάλιστα, όταν αύται διαπραγματεύωνται την ηθικήν κατάστασιν ενός έθνους, επειδή ουδέν δυσκολώτερον και επιπονώτερον' (Vretos, 'Αι Αθήναι').

> Every time I read a narrative about France, I demand that the author be French, about England, an Englishman. If our own people write erroneously, how much more so do foreigners! They would provoke laughter when they mention the incomprehensible silliness of their narratives.[16]

We will try to show Vretos's multifaceted work as a publisher and writer in the realm of the printed word of the nineteenth century and the issues that he promoted, which he recycled, rewove and distributed through various printed vehicles, and, at the same time, follow the dialogue that he provoked. We will focus on the French-language publications, making a short diversion for his Greek-language almanac, the *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* [National Almanac],[17] which belongs to the 'allophone' Parisian press.

The attempt to mobilise French intelligentsia

During the time of the Crimean War and the British-French occupation of Piraeus and Athens (1854–1857), and a year after the publication of *La Grèce contemporaine* (1854) by Edmond About, a work to which was attributed the spread of 'miso-philhellenism',[18] Vretos sought to mobilise the French through the publication of the miscellaneous volume, *La Grèce et les Grecs: pages inédites des MM* [...] *recueillies et publiées par un Grec*. There he brought together articles in the French press critical of About's book and commissioned articles on specific topics which, understandably, rebutted his views. They would be signed by Hellenists, philhellenes or persons knowledgeable about Greece.

His publishing plans failed, but we know about the volume's contents and his collaborators from indirect sources. Aside from the names of Vretos's acquaintances whom we have already mentioned (Boissonade, Saint-Marc de Girardin, Count Marcellus, Mérimée, Brunet de Presle, and others), also participating were Maxime Du Camp, Flaubert's travelling companion in Greece, Jean-Jacques Ampère and Charles Lenormant, travelling companions of Mérimée, Charles Lévêque, former member of the École d'Athènes, while approaches had been made to Victor Cousin and Saint-Beuve. Current

16 'Οσάκις αναγιγνώσκω διατριβήν περί Γαλλίας απαιτώ να είναι ο συγγραφεύς Γάλλος, περί Αγγλίας Άγγλος. Εάν οι ίδιοι περί των εδικών μας γράφοντες σφάλλομεν, πόσον μάλλον οι ξένοι! θα σε επροξένουν γέλωτα, εάν σε ανέφερον τας ακατανοήτους ανοησίας των διηγήσεών των'; *ibidem*. On the distorted picture provided by foreign travelers, cf. Politis, 'Αναζητώντας το αντικειμενικό'.

17 Hereafter, *EH* with reference to the year number.

18 Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 79–128.

political events do not seem to have taken priority. The articles focused on the economic and social situation of Greece, its Ottoman past, its future, the history of Greeks in the West from the fall of Constantinople to the present era. There were to be biographical notes about political figures (Kapodistrias, Kolettis), scholars and poets (Korais, Christopoulos), and issues like Greek hospitality. The book cover for the volume would illustrate King Otto (there was a dispute over whether he would have Greek or European clothing) and Queen Amalia. There were to be pages about the royal couple who had drawn commentary from travellers for the bad taste of their court, which the wife of the former ambassador to Greece, the fervent philhellene Théobald Piscatory, had committed to contribute.

The publication of the multifaceted volume in 1855, which attempted to improve the image of Otto's Greece by means of a French pen, was not realised. The publisher attributed the failure to his transfer from Paris to Athens.

Vretos as newspaper publisher

a. *Le Moniteur Grec* (Athens, 1855–1857)

Vretos made his first move in the world of the press with the publication of the newspaper *Le Moniteur Grec*,[19] on assignment by the Greek government. It belonged to the French-language newspapers that expressed the views of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the aim of informing public opinion abroad about Greek issues.[20] In this way, Vretos assumed the role of a semi-official mediator for the Greek state. Vretos was chosen for this task – which brought with it a very high salary – due to his excellent knowledge of French, his experience in the French press, the recognition he enjoyed in journalistic circles in France and the network of contacts he had developed. The publication of the weekly newspaper lasted for a year and a half (4 December 1855–1 January 1857). It ended after Vretos's resignation due to pressures from government officials. The registration of subscribers had been undertaken by a Parisian bookstore and Greek general consulates abroad. The newspaper was read by philhellenes and Hellenists (Brunet de Presle, Boissonade, Count Marcellus, Saint-Marc de Girardin),

19 *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του ελληνικού Τύπου*, 4, 434.

20 The birth of the French-language Greek press is dated from the time of the Greek Revolution. Cf. Provata, 'La presse francophone grecque'.

who in fact esteemed it for its nonpartisan stance. It was also used as an authoritative source by the French press.[21] Royal decrees, parliamentary speeches, and excerpts from the Civil Code were published in its official, condensed section. News items from Greek regions, excerpts from foreign newspapers, statistical charts, useful information and issues of sociopolitical interest were published in the unofficial section, as, for instance, the 'Résultats déjà obtenus des mesures prises pour la répression du brigandage', an acute issue within French public opinion and a headache for the Greek state.[22] It also carried information about cultural and educational activities (theatre criticism, book announcements, the programme of the University of Athens, reports on the conservation of archaeological monuments, and others). Many of its articles on literary and folkloric issues promoted the relations between modern Greek and ancient traditions, with biographical notes about the intellectual progenitors of modern Hellenism, views on the modern Greek language, and other issues. The articles were signed by Vretos using the initials Ω.Ω., and some of them were later republished in his volume *Mélanges néohelléniques* (1856).

b. The *Semaine Universelle* (Brussels, 1862–1863)

The promotion and defence of the Greek cause through a political, militant and cosmopolitan publication lay behind Vretos's initiative in establishing the weekly newspaper *La Semaine Universelle*, which went into circulation on 1 September 1862. The newspaper was edited in Paris and printed in Brussels. The choice of the Belgian capital was due to the legal ban on foreigners publishing newspapers in France. At the same time, the autocratic policies of Napoleon III and interference with the press in the 1850s and 1860s had led many journalists to take refuge in Belgium.[23] Announcements about future issues and commentaries in the French[24] and Greek press[25] as well

21 Cf. characteristically the republication of the article about the visit of the sculptor David d'Angers to Greece and the mistreatment of the statue of Markos Botsaris, which is signed by Saint-Marc de Girardin, *Journal des Débats*, 1856.

22 *Le Moniteur Grec*, September 1856. Vretos returns repeatedly to the brigandage, sometimes to criticise travellers for the fantasies ('Types de voyageurs en Grèce') and sometimes to assign responsibility to the lack of natural borders with Turkey and the narrow boundaries of the Greek state imposed by European diplomacy (*Deux mots aux détracteurs de la Grèce*).

23 Sartorius, *Tirs Croisés*.

24 Cf. indicatively: *Le Temps*, 8 September 1862; *Le Papillon. Arts. Lettres et Industrie*, 43, 10 October 1862.

25 *Αιών, Ανατολικός Αστήρ, Ημέρα, Εθνοφύλαξ.*

as in the *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* [National Almanac],[26] Vretos's published correspondence, and other sources, enable us to reconstruct to some degree the nature of this difficult-to-find newspaper, as well as the role of its publisher, which was registered in this particular enterprise as 'Le Grec'. In Vretos's judgement the newspaper should not be devoted exclusively to the Greek or Eastern Question or lavishly promote it. In conformity with its subtitle, *Revue politique, littéraire, artistique, scientifique, commerciale, industrielle, financière*, its content was multi-thematic. Its publication was supported by donations from the Greeks of Paris, who shared in the cause of the existence of a Greek-owned newspaper in Europe that would defend Greek interests and the rights of the peoples of the East, and would shed light on the Eastern Question. It was expected that, through the collaboration of important French journalists and public affairs intellectuals, the newspaper would construct a European profile, attract a large number of subscribers and begin to pay for itself. This goal was not achieved and the publishing venture ended after a year. Contributing to this was a ban on circulation in France at the end of 1862 and the strict controls that existed on the French-Belgium border that prevented articles from reaching Brussels. Repeated rumours circulated about its ceasing publication, requiring Vretos to issue denials in the French press in order to reassure its subscribers.

Many of its collaborators engaged in anti-regime activity, with philhellenic intentions, but also a desire to cultivate a dialogue between West and East. Among them we find the militant journalists Auguste Vermorel (1841–1871) and Henri-François-Alphonse Esquiros (1812–1876), self-exiled in Brussels, Antonin Proust (1832–1905), who had recently travelled in Greece and a few years later participated in the Paris Commune, the well-known philhellene Saint-Marc de Girardin, but also Edmond About. Vretos had been convinced that charges of 'miso-philhellenism' against him were hyperbolic and groundless.[27] There were many articles about the Eastern Question and Greece ('La question grecque', 'Les colonies grecques en Angleterre', 'À propos de certains Grecs', 'La Confédération orientale', and others). Particular coverage was given, also, to the Risorgimento and likely for this reason Vretos was decorated by Victor Emmanuel (1866).

The *Semaine Universelle* gained the respect of a portion of the French press for its criticism of the policies of Napoleon III. It was characterised as

26 *EH 1863*, 288.

27 H.A., 'Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos', 767–770; Cf. also Vretos, 'Ο Φιλέλλην Αβούτ'. The view that About's criticism aimed to show the mistakes of the Greek state and poor administration was advanced by many in France. Cf. Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 101, and Grodent, 'Edmond About'.

'une sorte de tribune internationale', as a 'journal quelque peu multicolore dans ses opinions, et qui les professe à peu près toutes, tour à tour et souvent même à la fois'.[28] Moreover, the French press of Paris as well as the provinces, in addition to the Greek-language press, used it as a source for their own coverage of international issues of the day and more.[29] Vretos's decoration for his contribution to the French-language newspaper by King Frederick VII of Denmark, allows for the conjecture that the *Semaine Universelle* supported the nomination of Prince William for the Greek throne.

Under the pseudonym M. Duvray, Vretos published *Les Grecs modernes* in serial form in the *Semaine Universelle*. In this text Vretos sustained a dialogue with earlier narratives of French travellers[30] as well as with Edmond About's *La Grèce contemporaine*, presenting his own 'more authentic' version of modern Greek society. Through the genre of physiologies – an early form of the sociology of knowledge[31] which found fertile ground within the European press – Vretos offered an anatomy of Greek society, providing an abundance of quantitative and factual data, through representative categories: the seaman and the merchant, the private man, the scholar; the books; the newspapers; the teachers and students; the statesman; the klepht; the priest. This series of sketches – published also as a stand-alone brochure (1862) in editions of the newspaper – offered a documented image to the descendants of the ancient Greeks, proposing that they be re-evaluated.

c. *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* [National Almanac] (Paris, 1861–1871)

Vretos's longest-lasting publishing project belongs in the category of both the French foreign-language press and the Greek diaspora press. The *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* [National Almanac] (hereafter *EH*) appeared in Paris annually from 1861 to 1871,[32] thanks to the sponsorship of well-heeled Greek merchants, diplomats and subscribers acquired by representatives in many cities of Greece, the Ottoman Empire and the diaspora. Due to its diverse content, it was reminiscent of the French *Almanach du magazin pittoresque*. Its purpose was to serve as a nexus for all Greeks, as indicated by the use of the noun 'national' in its title. Most of its articles came from Vretos's pen, a large portion of which were his own translations into Greek of his articles

28 Escande, 'Nouvelles de Pologne'.
29 *La France*.
30 Reynald, 'Les Grecs Modernes'; Du Camp, 'Les Grecs modernes'.
31 Lauster, 'Introduction'.
32 *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του ελληνικού Τύπου*, 2, 52–53.

published in French.[33] In that way, it likely sought to transmit to the Greeks the same image of Greece that he projected to the French public. It was richly illustrated, with particular space given to portraits of Greek scholars, military leaders of the War of Independence, politicians, and benefactors as well as foreign Hellenists and philhellenes, accompanied at the back of the volume by short biographical notes. Next to this pantheon of personages, which projected the roots of modern Hellenism, the producers of the Greek revival and national reconstitution, as well as the contribution of foreigners, there were illustrations of archaeological sites, Orthodox churches, and newly constructed Athenian buildings, as well as illustrations that referred to the Cretan Revolution. The readership was in large part Greek-speaking. However, it also reached the hands of foreign Hellenists and whomever were interested in the East and Greece.[34] Likely contributing to this effect were the ample illustrations, which 'translated' for those who did not know Greek well the elements constituting the identity of the Greek nation.

Vretos used this lavish and artful publication as a means for promoting the Greek cause, as well as himself personally. He managed to receive the congratulations of the emperor of Russia, the successor to the throne of England and the emperor of France, to whom he had sent the volumes with a personal dedication. Moreover, for this Greek publication that came out in the heart of France, he was decorated by Napoleon III in 1867. The foreign and mainly French press responded positively to the venture, as well as the image of modern Hellenism that it conveyed, often leaving room for political criticism. The *EH* was well regarded since, avoiding political issues that caused displeasure from the French public due to frequent changes of government, it highlighted the particular physiognomy of modern Greeks and provided an image of their productive activity. It established an understanding of modern Hellenism that transcended the political choices of governments.[35] It has been received as evidence of the modern Greek language, demonstrating the changes it had undergone from antiquity, while not discouraging whomever wanted to learn it.[36] Extensive published articles from the German[37] and English[38] press made it appreciated as the connecting link for all members of the dispersed Greek family, while at the

33 For reasons of economy, I will avoid quoting in French articles translated into Greek for the *EH*.

34 Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'La presse'.

35 Girardin, *Journal des Débats*, 1868.

36 Aubert, 'Variétés'.

37 'Ein Griechischer Kalender'.

38 'Reviews. A Greek national kalendar'.

same time it was recognised for its contribution to whomever desired to get to know Greece. It was considered to be a systematic projection of Greece, thanks to its illustrations and its emphasis on describing modern Greeks.[39] A presentation in an English publication,[40] after placing Greece among the few small countries that persistently sought to attract the attention of foreigners, stressed that the *EH* did not simply advertise, like a travel guide, a destination that, in any case, was not ideal due to the presence of brigands, but instead an entire nation. It was an advertisement for all of Hellenism and less so for the kingdom, making implications about the political situation. Vretos's close interlocutor, Saint-Marc de Girardin,[41] saw in him a sober and grounded intermediary for Hellenism within Europe, who had succeeded, with an almanac, disproportionately large for a small state, to make his aspirations understandable, avoiding provocative rhetoric as the new times required with the passing of philhellenism. He managed to show the privileged status of Greece in the East as a country which surpassed the narrow horizons of the small kingdom established by European diplomacy. In the context of this discourse on the superiority of Greece in the East, the following view of a member of the British Parliament earned a respectable place in French and English publications:

> lorsque messieurs les Turcs publieront un livre comme le vôtre pour l'instruction de leurs concitoyens, et que de tels livres seront appréciés et compris de la nation turque, alors je commencerai à croire à la régénération de cette race; mais pas avant.[42]

The invitation to travel

Between the arrival of Kapodistrias and the withdrawal of King Otto, visits to Greece had become more frequent. Along with the steady interest in ancient Greece an interest in the present, newly constituted state and its inhabitants was manifest. An elementary knowledge of the Greek language was essential for travellers, but also for the members of the École d'Athènes who remained in the capital for one or two years, journeying within the

39 'Literature'.
40 'Reviews. The Greek almanac for 1866'.
41 Girardin, *Journal des Débats*, 1864.
42 Reproduced by Bonneau, *L'Opinion nationale*, 1864.

country.[43] With the goal of enabling foreign visitors to Greece to gain an elementary understanding of the language so that they would be able communicate with the locals and, generally, to encourage the learning of the Greek language (something not greatly favoured by the 'Athéniens'[44]), Vretos published the four-language *Le nouveau guide de conversations modernes ou dialogues, usuels et familiers en quatre langues.* The addition to the title of the terms 'nouveau' and 'modern' demonstrate Vretos's intention to supply the traveller with the new vocabulary which the modernisation in the means of transportation imposed.

Recognising also the increased French interest in Athens after the founding of the École d'Athènes and, apparently, the corresponding interest of the Greek community and the diaspora in the new capital, he published in 1860 the bilingual travel guide *Αι Νέαι Αθήναι/Athènes moderne* that was included in the publication series 'Bibliothèque du voyageur en Grèce'. It belonged to the new genre of travel books of a useful nature, which came to replace travel narratives, signifying the beginnings of mass tourism. The start had come from England (Murray's Handbooks for Travellers), which was followed in France by the famous Guides Joanne by Hachette (starting in 1855). Vretos's publishing venture which, at least regarding Athens, preceded by a year what has until now been considered the first Hachette guide for Greece[45] is, in many ways, worthy of notice. It provided authoritative and up-to-date information from the pen of a native who did not need to rely on travel narratives by foreigners, as other authors of travel guides needed to do, submissively and intentionally reconstructing their commonplace advice and observations. As could be expected, it dedicated much space to the Acropolis, to the 'new' Parthenon as had been revealed through the excavations of Charles Ernest Beulé, and to numerous other ancient monuments and archaeological finds. But it also proposed many tours through the new city, which was in the process of rebuilding, upgrading and emergent industrial development, without effacing its Byzantine past. The guide included a wealth of detailed information about shops, recreational spots, goods, services – with an emphasis on modernisation and coordination with European tastes – prices for means of transportation, exchange rates, and boat schedules. It included everything that a local 'tour guide' should

43 Valenti, 'L'École française d'Athènes'.

44 For a brief review of the way Greek was taught, the available tools and the reluctance of the members of the school, cf. Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 50–69.

45 This is about the *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et archéologique de l'Orient* by Adolphe Johanne-Émile Isambert (Paris: Hachette, 1861), 1, xv, cf. Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 101.

have in mind for the foreign visitor in order to make his stay safe, pleasant and free from attempts at deception or profiteering which were the typical complaints of travellers. This useful tool sought to show Athens to be a high-quality travel destination – until then it was not the first stop on a journey to the East – which was worth a stay of many days, beyond the one-day visit to the Acropolis.[46] As a result, it encouraged a fuller familiarity of the foreign traveller with the capital and its inhabitants.

Aspects of modern Greek culture

1. The letters and the arts

a. Folk literature

Contes et poèmes de la Grèce moderne constitutes the most coherent literary example of modern Hellenism among Vretos's French-language works. He first published them in French periodicals in 1854,[47] collected them into a volume in 1855 and in an expanded edition in 1858. This consists of prose texts which he himself created, using oral materials. As he notes:

> Dans mes excursions à travers la Grèce j'avais été vivement frappé de la forme poétique et de la beauté des expressions employées par les gens du peuple; elles sont restées dans ma mémoire, et j'essayai de les reproduire en leur donnant pour cadre quelques récits populaires; mais dans ce travail de mosaïste, tantôt les matériaux, tantôt les dessins me faisaient défaut; j'ai dû alors recourir à ma propre invention, en m'inspirant des souvenirs et du génie national de la patrie.[48]

Thus its objective was the promotion of 'la forme poétique' and 'la beauté des expressions' of the 'gens du peuple' but also the 'génie national de la patrie'. Behind these words, we can seek the precedent of Fauriel: a literary event, the publication of *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* (1824–1825), had contributed to the politicisation of philhellenism during the years of the Greek Revolution and opened discussions about the relationship between ancient Greek poetry and the recent poetry of the people. Vretos obviously also knew about the recent case of Count Marcellus, who – promoting

46 Politis, 'Αναζητώντας το αντικειμενικό', 242; cf. Gebhardt, *Souvenirs*, 258.

47 Vretos, 'Contes et poèmes', 'Le pont d'Arta'.

48 Vretos, 'Envoi. À mon ami Nicolas A. Mavrocordatos', *Contes et poèmes*, without pagination [5].

himself as the successor to Fauriel through the adulterated and plagiarised compilation of *Chants du peuple en Grèce* in 1851 – had managed to reignite popular interest, attracting the orientalist view of the average Frenchman, but also the linguistic attention of the important Hellenist Charles-Benoît Hase.[49]

In writing the introduction to the independent edition of this 'mosaic' of prose pieces, Vretos acquired the endorsement of the archaeologist, writer and academic Prosper Mérimée,[50] a figure knowledgeable about Greek matters and admirer of the klephtic song and its language, upon which he had in part depended for learning Greek.[51] Mérimée recognised in folk poetry 'un certain art de composition et [...] une élévation de sentiments qu'on ne s'attendrait pas à rencontrer dans un état de civilisation peu avancée' and evaluated the venture favourably through the prism of an archaeologist of culture, 'que l'on conservât les restes de la poésie populaire, comme on conserve les ruines d'un temple dont on a chassé le dieu'.[52] However, those 'nouveaux fragments de cette muse populaire' appear to have functioned rather as a pretext for a discussion of the Greek language. Stressing that 'le Romaïque [the language of the people] a eu sa littérature qui n'a pas été sans gloire' expressed his interest in the 'phénomène de linguistique curieux' observed in Greece and concerned the replacement of foreign-language loans for the new meanings, which had been introduced through the spread of European ideas, with ancient terms. He anticipated the danger of 'une langue écrite assez bizarre dont Démosthène reconnaîtrait tous les mots, mais que probablement il aurait peine à comprendre'.[53] In such views, we are able to detect the simmering opposition to Hase and his criticism of the compilation of Count Marcellus, who was positive about the Greek language's path towards refinement. In any case, the views of both indicated that in the circle of French Hellenists in mid-century, the 'anthropological interest in Greek had transposed from historical events and the discussion about the nation and the soul of the people to the apolitical research of the language'.[54]

Within the French press, in any case, the publication of *Contes et poèmes de la Grèce moderne* was not connected exclusively to the language phenomenon. It turned the discussion to the ancient past, as well as the unjust devaluation of the present, since it provided evidence that contemporary

49 Mitsou, 'Στα χνάρια του Φωριέλ'.
50 Vretos, *Contes et poèmes*, 7–16.
51 See Tsaliki-Milioni, 'Ο Προσπέρ Μεριμέ'.
52 Vretos, *Contes et poèmes*, 7–16.
53 *Ibidem*.
54 Mitsou, 'Στα χνάρια του Φωριέλ', 38.

Greece enjoyed an original poetic virility, by no means inferior to that of its illustrious ancestors.[55] It was celebrated as a gift to Western literature, since it brought to light the authentic simplicity of the songs of Greece 'disdained and misunderstood', which tried to walk honourably in the footsteps of poets who continued to have the admiration of the entire world for the last 30 centuries.[56] The people once more showed themselves to be the true poets of modern Greece. The collection merited the attention of serious readers, since no one could now assess Greek antiquity without studying the new Greece.[57]

b. Learned literature

Contemporary written literature holds a low place in Vretos's French-language publications from the middle of the 1850s. Our research discovered only two book reviews of recent publications: the poetic collection *Αρματωλοί και Κλέπται* [Armatoloi and Klephts] by G.Ch. Zalokostas[58] and Kolokotronis's memoirs of 1852.[59] The book presentation of Zalokostas is not lacking, certainly, in criticism for his poetry, but since the themes of both books are drawn from recent Greek history, the preparation and conduct of the struggle for independence, we can assume that they were addressed implicitly to the reflexes of an outdated philhellenism.

The charges of a lack of originality and of imitation of French models that are included in About's agenda, and perhaps that of others, do not seem to have particularly burdened Vretos's image. He recognised, of course, the French influences, but considered the charge to be biased, projecting (counter)arguments derived from cultural history: the influence was inevitable given the dominant role of French letters in Europe. Recourse to the past showed an analogous dominant role of ancient Greek letters in European literatures as well as the influences of Italian, Spanish and later of English and German letters upon French literature; but in the French case, there was no talk of imitation.[60]

For Vretos, the literary field appears up to that point to have taken shape in direct connection with the language. He showed, however, certain advances, such as the institution of the University of Athens poetic competitions, and the beginnings of an academic discourse on literature, whose criticism up

55 Sasonof, *L'Athenaeum français*.
56 Ferrari, 'Revue littéraire'.
57 Asopios, 'Bibliographie'.
58 Vretos, 'Les Armatoles et les Clephtes'.
59 Vretos, 'Ο γέρων Κολοκοτρώνης'.
60 Vretos, 'Aperçu historique'.

to that point was limited to public taste.[61] As he declared categorically: 'La moderne Hellade n'a pas eu encore son grand poète', something he didn't regard as a negative:

> Il est heureux qu'un grand poète, un Dante, ne soit pas venu fixer le grec moderne avant qu'il ait atteint le degré de perfection qui lui est réservé dans l'avenir […]; Le poète législateur qui eût eu assez de génie pour imprimer au grec son propre sceau ne se fût pas peut-être emparé, comme Dante, de toutes les ressources et de toutes les beautés de son idiome national.[62]

The nomination of Christopoulos, the new Anacreon, whose lyric poems had been translated into French by Brunet de Presle,[63] had been eclipsed due to his death. The poets of the Athenian School (the Soutsos brothers, Rangavis, Zalokostas, Tantalidis, Pop, Skylitsis, Parmenidis, Karasoutsas) – about whom Vretos was confined to write brief, general commentary – did not seem to have claimed a place. Another candidate which appeared serious ran counter to the widespread view of the language: 'Salomos [= Solomos], dont l'hymne à la liberté a été traduit en français par M. Stanislas Julien, aurait pu devenir un grand poète, mais la langue dont il s'est servi sera un linceul qui recouvrira de belles et grandes pensées'.[64]

In any case, we could attribute Vretos's sparse references to modern Greek poetry to the rarity of French translations, as well as public ignorance of them,[65] something which made any critical commentary superfluous. As a translator, Vretos took some initiative. Next to the folkloric prose texts of *Contes et poèmes de la Grèce moderne* he included fragments from Solomos's 'Lambros' ('Λάμπρος') in 1854,[66] recognising the poet's relationship with the demotic language. Indeed, he insisted on republishing it in his French-language newspaper of 1856,[67] as well as in the second edition of *Contes et poèmes de la Grèce moderne* (1858), adding also 'L'empoisonnée' ('Η Φαρμακωμένη'). The same intention – the familiarisation of the French

61 Vretos, 'Les Armatoles et les Clephtes'.

62 *Ibidem*.

63 *Poésies lyriques de l'Anacréon Moderne Athanase Christopoulos*, publiées et corrigées par G. Théocharopoulos de Patras. Avec la traduction française en regard (Strasbourg [1831]). The name of the translator is not recorded on the publications, but it was obviously an open secret. Cf. Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Notice sur M. Brunet de Presle', 351.

64 Vretos, 'Aperçu historique'.

65 Cf. Politis, 'Από τον Φωριέλ', 143–144.

66 Vretos, 'Contes et poèmes'.

67 With the initials Ω.Ω., *Le Moniteur Grec*, 22, 20 May 1856.

public with modern Greek poetry and language – must have dictated the publication plans for a bilingual anthology, *Le Parnasse de la Grèce moderne*, with 'morceaux choisis des meilleurs poètes'. We know of it (it was to be 200 to 280 pages long) from a handwritten invitation to registering subscribers dated 1859. In the end, the publication did not take place.

In any case, we must recognise that these minor initiatives to promote modern Greek literature, both in its folkloric and more literary versions, constitute, along with Rangavis's 'Esquisse de littérature Grecque Moderne' in the *Spectateur de l'Orient* (1853–1855)[68] a sparse discourse within the decade of lull which preceded the anthologies or collections of Eugène Yéméniz's *La Grèce moderne: Héros et poètes* (Paris, 1862) and of *Contes et poèmes grecs* (Geneva, 1865) by Charles Schaub. And something more: his poetic sensibility led him to offer, albeit in prose translation, two excerpts by 'Conte Salomos de Zante'.

c. The arts

In 1855, Vretos, as an unpaid secretary for the Greek Committee for the Paris International Exhibition, contributed to the promotion of Greek arts and crafts. At the same time, it appears that he wrote topical articles for the press, something that was held in regard by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As we can affirm,[69] his intention was to defend the absence of artistic feeling among the modern Greeks. As an argument, he promoted the good quality of artisanal production (scarves, clothing, ceramics) exhibited at the Greek pavilion and the popular sculpture found in the mountain villages of Greece, both of which had been admired at the London International Exhibition of 1851. From the world of painting, he presented as an example Dominikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco) – who had begun to win the attention of the French public after 1838 at the launch of the Spanish Gallery at the Louvre – and the Cephalonian-born painter and permanent resident of Italy, Georgios Miniatis. He attributed the development of the arts to economic progress and, unquestionably, the protection of the state. Behind this defence of Greek art, we find the charges that had been laid, and the umbrage provoked by the vandalising of the statue 'La jeune Grecque', created by the well-known philhellene sculptor David d'Angers, which had been placed on the tomb of Markos Botsaris in Missolonghi.[70]

68 For the record of French-language publications, 1829–1880, cf. Politis, 'Από τον Φωριέλ', 158–162.

69 Vretos, 'Les beaux-arts'.

70 Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 119–125.

2. The progress of modern Hellenism

A common expression of displeasure with Greece in mid-century was the stagnation, which contradicted the philhellenic aspirations for 'revival'. Vretos, bringing to light after nearly 30 years Iakovakis Rizos's *Cours de littérature grecque moderne* (1827), addressed to Geneva's French-speaking public, recalled the development of Greek letters, placing its origins at the end of the seventeenth century. Vretos referred to important representatives of the modern Greek Enlightenment, to Rhigas and his 'Θούριος' [Battle Hymn], which he considered to be products of the spirit of the French Revolution as well as to Greek scholars of his own era, who were either members of the University of Athens or leaders of Greek intellectual life: all these offered a strong proof of continuing cultural progress.[71]

Vretos's arguments about the development of education that was underway turned on the following axes[72]: the organisation of education during the first three decades of the Greek state (the increased number of primary and secondary schools, the establishment of the University of Athens, the encouragement of foreign language instruction, scholarships and boarding schools for students in the provinces); the attendance of Greek students in universities abroad who, as a consequences, constituted possible vehicles of European ideas; the establishment of philological societies; the educational development of women with the foundation of the Arsakeion school for girls; the explosion in the publication of newspapers and periodicals; and the development of the sciences; the creation of reading rooms and libraries. To document this progress, Vretos provided detailed information, quantitative data and statistics that he collected from Greek ministries and public services. And again, in any case, he did not abstain from criticising travel literature. A characteristic example was his article about the students of Athens,[73] which criticised foreigners who were satisfied with their ecstasy at the sight of the Acropolis while ignoring the existence of Greek students.

The most worthwhile and usable example of progress was provided by the Greek capital. He sought to show the image it had acquired in the context of its rebuilding with twelve full-page lithographs in the lavish album *Αι Νέαι Αθήναι/Athènes moderne* published first in Paris in 1861. The first lithograph represented the port of Piraeus (an example of modernisation in commerce and shipping), and the second provided a panoramic view of

71 Vretos, 'Aperçu historique'.
72 Vretos, 'Les étudiants d'Athènes', 'Aperçu historique', introduction to *Athènes moderne*.
73 Vretos, 'Les étudiants d'Athènes'.

Figure 1.1. General view of Athens. Reproduced with permission of the Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Athens dominated by the Acropolis. The rest of them illustrate Athens's recent public buildings: the palace, the cathedral, the University of Athens, the observatory, the St. Nikodimos Russian church, the Amalieio orphanage, the Arsakeion school for girls, the ophthalmological clinic, the Royal Garden (commissioned by Queen Amalia), around which can be seen individual figures in traditional or European clothing.[74] The album circulated in various versions (on *papier de Chine*, without illustrations and a simple binding or with illustrations only), and at a special price. In the bilingual (Greek and French) introduction, Vretos presented the progress that had taken place in various sectors, recorded the structures being built or designed, thus answering indirectly to French scepticism. 'Athens as a jewel' was presented as the product of a collective solidarity to which, aside from the Bavarian king and queen, to whom the album was dedicated, important architects and painters of Europe, as well as expatriate benefactors had contributed.

In the pages of the lavishly illustrated album, advertised as 'an appropriate and beautiful garnishment for reception rooms (salons)',[75] Vretos was seeking

74 The clothing habits of the Athenians were frequently commented on by travellers, cf. Politis, 'Αναζητώντας το αντικειμενικό'.

75 *EH 1865*, 40.

to attract the attention of a wide spectrum of readers, from the highest leader to the French citizen and reader of the press. In sending the album to Napoleon III, as reprinted by a newspaper, he wrote:

> La plume et le crayon se sont alliés dans cette œuvre non pour élever un monument littéraire et artistique, mais pour faire connaître à l'Europe, inquiète sur l'avenir de l'Orient, que dans ce pays, où tout s'écroule, il existe une nation douée par excellence du génie créateur et conservateur [...] je m'estimerai le plus heureux de tous ceux qui tiennent une plume pour la défense de la Grèce, ma patrie.[76]

Judging from the commentary that Vretos selected from the French press and reproduced in the *EH*, the enterprise provoked widespread interest. Count Marcellus, bringing to mind Chateaubriand's visit, recognised the rapid advances in Athens's development.[77] In contrast to Greece's small population and income, these advances demonstrated how unjust the charges of the capital's bad management were. Respect and love should henceforth be given to the living Athens. The dead Athens continued to exist, but only in thought.[78] According to the viewpoint expressed by French cultural paternalism, this development was connected to the presence of the École d'Athènes, as well as the concern of the queen.[79] Nor were the positive commentaries on the contribution of King Otto absent.[80] The politically conscious Antonin Proust praised Vretos for dedicating the volume to Queen Amalia, but drew attention to several pending issues and unused resources that had been provided by benefactors and that still awaited fulfilment, leaving the implication of bad management: 'En face d'une pareille nation, on fait mieux qu'espérer, on ne doute pas; mais devant l'insouciance coupable du gouvernement, il est permis de craindre'.[81] Edmond About relied on his personal memories to conclude, making an appeal to France: 'La nation grecque deviendrait grande aussi, je le crois, j'en suis sûr, si l'Europe voulait lui donner un peu d'air et de lumière'.[82] The album was dedicated 'à tous ceux qui étudient la grande question à laquelle on a donné le nom *question de l'Orient*',[83] but also to art lovers and friends of

76 *EH 1863*, 267.
77 Marcellus, 'Chronique littéraire'.
78 Calonne, 'Athènes Moderne'.
79 Bellet, *La Patrie*.
80 Riancey, *L'Union*.
81 Proust, 'Bulletin'.
82 About, *L'Opinion*.
83 Laurent, *Courrier du Dimanche*.

Greece who did not have the opportunity to 'apprendre à connaître en détail cette capitale de la Grèce moderne, à qui peut-être est promise la suprématie de l'Orient'.[84] It was evaluated as a work of art and a cultural object, 'un recueil digne de figurer dans nos bibliothèques et dans nos collections artistiques',[85] and its publisher was identified as 'l'apôtre du philhellénisme'.[86]

The language discussion

The discussion about the language of the modern Greeks had made its first appearance in French-language publications in 1853, the year, that is, of the great literary battle between Panagiotis Soutsos and Konstantinos Asopios,[87] and frequently reappeared in the article writing and the materials collateral to Vretos's publications.[88] He persisted in the view that modern Greek was not a radically different language from the ancient, but a different phase. He argued that the corruption of the language was the result of ignorance caused by the Ottoman occupation. And while Virgil could not be considered the national poet of Italy because he wrote in Latin, Homer remained the national poet of the Greeks.[89] He also promoted the views of Korais regarding linguistic purification and the need for regularisation. He argued that modern Greek (*néohellénique*) – which he distinguished from the demotic of folk song – had not arrived at the level of definitive configuration, but he affirmed that it had made serious advances. In the *EH*, during the 1860s, Vretos 'coordinated' an interesting debate on the language question between Greek scholars and foreign, largely French, Hellenists. In reality, it was a matter of republishing older texts from Greek- and French-language publications which had been translated into Greek.[90]

From the Greek side, the participants in the discussion were figures like Filippos Ioannou, Vretos's professor at the University of Athens and a devotee of the circle of successors to Korais, who opened the 'discussion'. Also included was the lawyer, university professor and diplomat Markos Renieris, supporter of the view that the mission of the Greek nation was to ally with

84 Fournel, *L'Ami de la religion*, 23 January 1861.

85 Bonneau, *L'Opinion*, 1861.

86 Fournel, *L'Ami de la religion*, 31 January 1861.

87 Mackridge, *Language*, 182–186.

88 Vretos, 'Les Armatoles et les Clephtes'; *Le Moniteur Grec*, 17–18, 1 April 1856.

89 'Aperçu historique'; a section of the article was published in *Le Moniteur Grec*, 17–18, 1 April 1856, and included with the title 'Le néohellénique' in *Mélanges néohelléniques*, 5–9.

90 Cf. under the names listed in the primary source bibliography.

the nations of the West in order to collaborate in the advancement of a universal culture, and, at the same time, assume the task of 'Hellenising' the East; in this context, he recommended making Greek a universal language. The composer, musician and poet, Alexandros Katakouzinos, who came from the Greek diaspora, was a representative, clearly, of the arts. Ioannis Valetas, a teacher of modern Greek in England, represented translators. Of particular note was the participation of Adamantios Korais (died 1833), as well as that of the supporter of the 'vernacularist mouvement' and originator of phonetic orthography Ioannis Vilaras (died 1823).[91] Vilaras's linguistic version was presented through his prose narratives 'Ο Λογιότατος ταξιδιώτης' [The erudite traveller] and 'Ο Κολοκυθούλης' [Kolokythoulis]. Obviously, Vretos's intention was to maintain Korais's professional desiderata: in the language, all of the members of the nation participate 'with democratic, I would say, equality'.

Of the foreign Hellenists, translated excerpts[92] were published from the works of the following: Charles-Benoît Hase, professor of modern Greek literature and language at the École des Langues Orientales (1819–1864); Wladimir Brunet de Presle, his successor to the chair (1865–1875); Émile Egger, professor of Greek Literature at the Sorbonne (1855–1885); Gustave d'Eichthal, supporter of Saint-Simonism and the main intermediary of Renieris's positions on the establishment of Greek as a universal language[93]; the Paris-based German classicist Fr. Dübner,[94] as well as the Hellenist and famous lexicographer Émile Littré. Among the issues concerning the 'debate' were linguistic change and the continuity of the Greek language, the refinement, purification, vulgarisation and use of words from popular discourse, but also the inability of demotic to provide materials for the development of the language, the relationships between the pronunciation of ancient and modern Greek, the argument for Greek to become an universal language, and others.[95]

Obviously, thanks to the reciprocal transfer which included foreign Hellenists, Greek scholars and readers of the *EH*, Vretos's almanac was registered as vehicle of a mutual exchange and also as a sign of an increased interest in modern Hellenism; in this sense, it stood next to the École d'Athènes

91 See Mackridge, *Language*, 146.

92 For the first presentation regarding the publications of French Hellenists, see Katsigiannis, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών'.

93 See Provata, 'Η Ελληνική ως διεθνής γλώσσα'.

94 See also 'Φρειδερίκος Δυβνέρος'.

95 For a thorough reconstitution of the linguistic views that were published, cf. Diatsentos, *La question*.

and the chairs of modern Greek studies in France as a token of the alliance between France and Greece.[96] This French-Greek alliance would find home for expression for two decades in the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (1867–1887), whose establishment was announced publicly in the *EH* in 1868.[97] It is worth noting that most of the scholars whom Vretos 'engaged' in this staged 'debate', as well as he himself, were its members.

Conclusion

Following the path of this persistent and idiosyncratic 'Le Grec' through his multipolar mediation and the dialogue he cultivated with French intellectuals, we are able to discern in his person one of those agents who contributed to the change in the 'miso-philhellenic' climate through a better understanding of Hellenism in the direction of an apolitical and symmetrical cultural collaboration.

Bibliography

Primary sources

About, Edmond, *La Grèce contemporaine* (Paris: 1854).
—, *L'Opinion nationale*, 13 April 1861.
Αιών [Century], 2049, 16 July 1862.
Ανατολικός Αστήρ [Oriental Star] (Constantinople), 43, 24 July 1862.
Asopios, J., 'Bibliographie. Contes et Poètes de la Grèce Moderne par Marino Vréto', *L'appel, journal critique, littéraire et artistique*, 43, 9 September 1855.
Aubert, Francis, 'Variétés. Le Grec Moderne', *Le Constitutionnel*, 55, 24 February 1867.
Le Papillon. Arts. Lettres et Industrie, 43, 10 October 1862, 419.
Bellet, Louis, *La Patrie*, 21 January 1861.
Bonneau, Alex., *L'Opinion nationale*, 23 January 1861.
—, *L'Opinion nationale*, 18 December 1864.
Brunet de Presle, Wladimir, 'Ιστορία της νεωτέρας ελληνικής γλώσσης' [= 'Histoire du grec moderne', *Revue des cours littéraires*, 3:16 (1866), 265–268, 3:18 306–308 (keynote address delivered at the École des Langues Orientales, 1865)], translated by Ioannis Pantazidis, *EH 1867*, 237–257.

96 Egger, 'Rapport sur les études', 8.
97 Its activities started in 1867.

—, 'Κ.Β. Άσιος και οι εν Παρισίοις Λόγιοι Έλληνες επί του Ναπολέοντος και των Βουρβόνων' [= 'M. Hase et les savants grecs émigrés à Paris sous le premier empire et sous la restauration', *Revue des cours littéraires*, 2:20 (1865), 317–326], *EH 1867*, 206–231.

Calonne, M.A. de, 'Athènes Moderne. Album [...] par Marino P. Vreto', *Revue contemporaine*, 20 (March-April 1861), 367–368.

D'Eichthal, Gustave, 'Περί της πρακτικής χρήσεως της ελληνικής γλώσσης' [= *De l'usage pratique de la langue grecque* (Paris: 1865)], translated by Markos Renieris, *EH 1865*, 342–350.

—, 'Περί της νεωτέρας ελληνικής γλώσσης Επισημείωσις' [Annotation: On the modern Greek language], *EH 1866*, 437–439.

Du Camp, Maxime, 'Les Grecs modernes', *Revue de Paris*, 30 (15 March 1856), 524–547.

Dübner, F., 'Ανέκδοτον τεμάχιον μαθήματός τινος περί ελληνικής γλώσσης του Hase' [= C.-B. Hase, *Sur l'Origine de la langue grecque vulgaire et sur les avantages que l'on peut retirer de son étude* (Paris, 1816), 8–9], *EH 1866*, 193–194.

—, 'Περί της προφοράς της ελληνικής γλώσσης' [= 'L'usage pratique de la langue grecque', *Revue de l'instruction publique*, 24:31 (1864), 483–485; republication of its translation into Greek from *Κλειώ* [Cleo] (Trieste)], *EH 1867*, 185–203.

Egger, Émile, 'Περί ελληνικής γλώσσης και ελληνικού έθνους. Σκέψεις επί τινων ιστορικών εγγράφων της εποχής της υπό των Τούρκων αλώσεως της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως' [= *De la langue et de la nationalité grecques. Réflexions sur quelques documents historiques du temps de la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs* (Paris, 1864)], *EH 1866*, 157–177.

—, 'Περί της αρχαίας και της νεωτέρας ελληνικής γλώσσης' [= 'Du grec ancien et du grec moderne', *Revue des cours littéraires*, 2:9 (1865)], translated by H.M., *EH 1866*, 178–188.

—, 'Rapport sur les études de la langue et littérature grecques en France', in *Recueil de rapports sur l'état des lettres et les progrès de sciences en France. Progrès des études classiques et du moyen âge, philologie celtique, numismatique...* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868), 1–40.

—, 'Έκθεσις των περί την ελληνικήν γλώσσαν και γραμματολογίαν σπουδών εν Γαλλία' [= 'Rapport sur les études de la langue et littérature grecques en France', in *Recueil de rapports sur l'état des lettres et les progrès de sciences en France. Progrès des études classiques et du moyen âge, philologie celtique, numismatique...* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868), 1–40], translated by Ioannis Valetas, *EH 1869*, 422–482.

—, 'Περί της ενεστώσης καταστάσεως της Ελληνικής γλώσσης και των εις ταύτην γινομένων μεταρρυθμίσεων' [= 'De l'état actuel de la langue grecque et des réformes qu'elle subit', in *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique* (Paris, 1868)], translated by Leonidas Eliadis, *EH 1869*, 650–668.

'Ein Griechischer Kalender', *Bremer Sonntagsblatt*, 52, 25 December 1864, 427.
Εθνοφύλαξ [The Guard of the Nation] 111, 27 September 1862.
Escande, A., 'Nouvelles de Pologne', *La Gazette de France*, 31 March 1863.
Fauriel, Claude, *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1824–1825).
Ferrari, C., 'Revue littéraire. "Marino Vreto. Contes et poèmes de la Grèce Moderne"', *Revue franco-italienne*, 2, 10 January 1856, 12.
Fournel, Victor, *L'Ami de la religion*, 8, 23 January 1861.
—, *L'Ami de la religion*, 8, 31 January 1861.
Gebhardt, Émile, *Souvenirs d'un vieil Athénien* (Paris, 1911).
Girardin, Saint Marc de, *Journal des Débats*, 27 March 1856.
—, *Journal des Débats*, 23 November 1864.
—, *Journal des Débats*, 20 February 1868.
Hase, Charles Benoît, 'Ημερολόγιον του Ελληνιστού Ασίου (Hase)' [Journal of the Hellenist Hase (in Greek, publication of an extract)], *EH 1868*, 75–78.
Ημέρα [The Day] (Wien), 364, 24 August/5 September 1862.
Ioannou, Filippos, 'Περί της νεωτέρας ελληνικής γλώσσης' [On the modern Greek language; republished from *Εφημερίς των Φιλομαθών* [Journal of the Studious], 384 (1860), 1472–1473], *EH 1861*, 29–32.
—, 'Περί της νεωτέρας ελληνικής γλώσσης' [On the modern Greek language], *EH 1863*, 108–114, 115–135.
—, 'Περί των προηγουμένων πραγματειών του κ. Εγγέρου' [On the earlier treatises of M. Egger], *EH 1866*, 189–192.
Katakouzinos, Alexandros, 'Παρατηρήσεις επί της καθ' ημάς ελληνικής γλώσσης' [Observations about our Greek language], *EH* (1868), 311–320.
—, 'Παρατηρήσεις επί της καθ' ημάς ελληνικής γλώσσης' [Observations about our Greek language], *EH 1869*, 642–650.
—, 'Παρατηρήσεις επί της καθ' ημάς ελληνικής γλώσσης' [Observations about our Greek language], *EH 1870*, 304–313.
—, 'Παρατηρήσεις επί της καθ' ημάς ελληνικής γλώσσης' [Observations about our Greek language], *EH 1871*, 144–151.
Korais, Adamantios, untitled [= extract from *Άτακτα* [Mélanges] (Paris: K. Eberhart, 1829), vol. 2, xxviii–xxviiii], *EH 1867*, 204–205.
La France, 13 December 1862.
Laurent, J., *Courrier du Dimanche*, 10 March 1861.
Le Papillon. Arts. Lettres et Industrie, 43, 10 October 1862, 419.
Le Temps, 501, 8 September 1862.
'Literature', *The Athenaeum*, 1960, 20 March 1865, 679–680.
Littré, Émile, 'Περί της προφοράς και της αναπτύξεως της ελληνικής γλώσσης' [= 'De l'usage pratique de la langue grecque de M.G. d'Eichthal', *Journal des Débats*

politiques et littéraires, 13 May 1865; republication of its translation into Greek from *Κλειώ* [Cleo] (Trieste)], *EH 1867*, 173–184.

Marcellus, Comte de, *Chants du peuple en Grèce* (Paris: Jacques Lecoffre et C[ie], 1851).

—, 'Chronique littéraire. Athènes Moderne. Album', *L'Illustration. Journal hebdomadaire universel*, 30 March 1861, 206–207.

'Mouvement littéraire et scientifique en Grèce', *Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, 6 (July-December 1853), 180–181.

'Περί της προφοράς της ελληνικής γλώσσης' [On the pronunciation of the Greek language; republication from *Κλειώ* [Cleo], 176, 30/11 November 1864; 6/18 November 1864], *EH 1867*, 185–196.

Proust, Antonin, 'Bulletin bibliographique', *Revue européenne*, 16 (1861), 3–4.

Queux de Saint-Hilaire, Marquis de, 'La presse dans la Grèce moderne depuis l'indépendance jusqu'en 1871', *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 5 (1871), 149–179.

—, 'Notice sur M. Brunet de Presle', *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 9 (1875), 342–370.

Rangavis, A.-R., introduction to 'Ημερολόγιον του Ελληνιστού Ασίου (Hase)' [Journal of the Hellenist Hase], *EH 1868*, 72–75.

Renieris, Markos, 'Περί του προορισμού του ελληνικού έθνους και της ελληνικής γλώσσης' [= 'De l'impopularité de la cause grecque en Occident', *Spectateur de l'Orient*, 35–36 (1855), 342–360], *EH 1865*, 351–356.

—, 'Introduction' to 'Περί της πρακτικής χρήσεως της ελληνικής γλώσσης', by d'Eichthal, *EH 1865*, 341–342.

'Reviews. A Greek national kalendar', *Saturday Review*, 19, 498, 13 May 1865, 577–578.

'Reviews. The Greek almanac for 1866', *Saturday Review*, 540, 3 March 1866, 268–269.

Reynald, Hermile, 'Les Grecs Modernes', *Revue contemporaine*, 29, 15 December 1856, 62–63.

Riancey, Henry de, *L'Union*, 31 December 1861.

Sasonof, *L'Athenaeum français*, 25, 23 June 1855, 525.

[Unsigned], 'Φρειδερίκος Δυβνέρος. Ο Ελληνιστής' [Frederic Dübner: The Hellenist], *EH 1870*, 452–453.

Vapéreau, Gustave, 'Vrétos (Marino)', *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains, contenant toutes les personnes notables de la France et des pays étrangers* (Paris: Hachette, 1858), 1747.

Vilaras, Ioannis, 'Περί της νεωτέρας ελληνικής γλώσσης παρά Ιωάννου Βηλαρά' [On the modern Greek language according to Ioannis Vilaras], *EH 1871,* 318–334.

Vretos, Marinos, P. [with the initials P.M.V.], 'Αι Αθήναι' [Athens], *Ο Φίλος του λαού* [The Friend of the People], 510 (26 January 1848).

—, 'Les étudiants d'Athènes', *Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel. Journal officiel de l'Empire français*, 29 August 1853.
—, 'Ο γέρων Κολοκοτρώνης. Le vieux Colocotronis' [book review], *Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel. Journal officiel de l'Empire français*, 15 September 1853, 1027–1028.
—, 'Les Armatoles et les Clephtes; par Zalocostas. Poème couronné au concours de 1851' [book review], *L'Athenaeum français*, 36 (3 September 1853), 836–838.
—, 'Aperçu historique sur la renaissance de la civilisation et des lettres dans la Grèce moderne', *L'Athenaeum français* 6, 11 February 1854, 127–130; partial publication in *Le Moniteur Grec*, 17–18 (1 April 1856); included with the title 'Le néohellénique' in *Mélanges néohelléniques*, 5–9.
—, 'Contes et poèmes de la Grèce Moderne', *Revue de Paris*, 21 (1 April 1854), 92–107, 22 (1 September 1854), 729–741.
—, 'Le pont d'Arta en Épire. Légende Grecque', *L'Athenaeum français*, 13 (1 April 1854), 300.
—, 'Les beaux-arts chez les Grecs modernes', *L'Illustration: journal universel*, 24 (1854), 355.
—, 'Types de voyageurs en Grèce', *Revue Française*, 1 (1855), 176–184.
—, *Contes et poèmes de la Grèce Moderne, précédés d'une Introduction par Prosper Mérimée* (Paris: Émile Audois, 1855; 2nd ed., Leipzig and Paris: Wolfgang Gerhard-A. Franck, 1858).
—, *Mélanges néohelléniques* (Athens: Royal Printing House, 1856).
—, *Le Moniteur Grec* (Athens: 1855–1857).
—, *Deux mots aux détracteurs de la Grèce* (Athens: Jean Angelopoulos 1856).
—, *Νέος Οδηγός νεωτέρων ποικίλων διαλόγων ένθα και συνδιαλέξεις περί οδοιπορίων, σιδηροδρόμων, ατμοπλοίων κτλ. τα πάντα εκτεθέντα εις γλώσσας τέσσαρας ελληνικήν, γαλλικήν, αγγλικὴν και ιταλικήν. Προς χρήσιν περιηγητών και πάσης τάξεως σπουδαστών μιας ή και πλειόνων των γλωσσών τούτων | Dialogues usuels et familiers en quatre langues: grec-moderne, français, anglais et italien* (Athens: Wilberg, 1858).
—, *Athènes Moderne ou description abrégée de la capitale de la Grèce, suivie du tableau des départs des bateaux à vapeur, du rapport entre les monnaies grecques et les monnaies étrangères, du tarif des voitures, etc., etc. / Αι Νέαι Αθήναι ήτοι Περιληπτική περιγραφή της πρωτευούσης της Ελλάδος μετά των αναχωρήσεων των ατμοπλοίων, της αναλογίας των ελληνικών προς τα ξένα νομίσματα, της αστυνομικής διατιμήσεως των αμαξών* (Athens: P.A. Sakellariou, 1860).
—, *Αι Νέαι Αθήναι. Συλλογή εικονογραφιών των κυριωτέρων μνημείων της πρωτευούσης της Ελλάδος μετά της περιγραφής αυτών / Athènes moderne, album contenant les vues des principaux monuments modernes de la capitale de la Grèce, accompagnées d'une description* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1861, 1863).

—, *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* [National Almanac] (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1861–1863, Lainé et Harvard, 1864–1871, Athens: 1861–1863, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1869–1871).
—, *La Semaine Universelle* (Brussels: Charles Lelong 1862–1863).
—, [pseud. M. Duvray], *Les Grecs modernes* (*extrait de la* Semaine Universelle) (Bruxelles: Librairie de MM. Lacroix et Cie, 1862).
—, *Οκταετής Υπηρεσία εν τη δημοσιογραφία* [Eight years of service in journalism] (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1861).
—, 'Ο Φιλέλλην Αβούτ' [About, the Philhellene], *EH 1863*, 253–256.
—, 'Grèce', *Annuaire encyclopédique: politique, économie sociale, statistique, administration, sciences, littérature, beaux-arts, agriculture, commerce, industrie publié par les directeurs de l'Encyclopédie du XIX^e^ siècle*, 7 (1867), 851–864.
—, 'Le conflit turco-grec', *Revue moderne*, 50 (1869), 137–149.
—, 'Othon I. Roi de Grèce, *Revue moderne*, 49 (1868), 102–119, 449–468.
—, 'Πώς μουτζουρώνουν το χαρτί, ήτοι περί εφημεριδογραφίας' [How to scribble on paper or about journalism], *EH 1871*, 475–489.

Secondary sources and reference works

Basch, Sophie, *Le Mirage grec. La Grèce moderne devant l'opinion française* (*1846–1946*) (Paris: Hatier-Kauffmann, 1995).
Diatsentos, Petros, *La question de la langue dans les milieux des savants grecs au XIX^e^ siècle: projets linguistiques et réformes*, PhD dissertation (Paris: EHESS, 2009).
Dimopoulou, Barbara, 'Autour de Marino Papadopoulo-Vreto. Circonstances et documents peu connus', *Cahiers Mérimée*, 6 (2014), 63–91.
Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του ελληνικού Τύπου 1784–1974 [Encyclopaedia of the Greek press, 1784–1974], ed. by Loukia Droulia and Gioula Koutsopanagou (Athens: INR/NHRF, 2008).
Grodent, Michel, 'Edmond About et la Grèce, ou Le roi des montagnes décrypté', reprinted from *La Revue Générale* (June-July 1977).
H.A., 'Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos et ses correspondants', *L'Hellénisme Contemporain*, 8–9 (March 1939), 763–794.
Katsigiannis, Alexandros, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών στο *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* του Μαρίνου Παπαδόπουλου Βρετού (1863–1871). Μια υπόθεση εργασίας' [The presence of French Hellenists in Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos's National Almanac: A research hypothesis], in the Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium *Μετάφραση και περιοδικός τύπος τον 19ο αιώνα* [Translation and the periodical press in the nineteenth century], ed. by Anna Tabaki and Alexia Altouva (Athens: University of Athens/NHRF, 2016), 135–144.
Lauster, Martina, 'Introduction: Nineteenth-century sketches and the problem of Walter Benjamin's legacy', in *Sketches of the Nineteenth Century: European*

Journalism and Its Physiologies, 1830–50 (London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1–22.

Mackridge, Peter, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Mitsou, Marilisa, 'Στα χνάρια του Φωριέλ. Οι συλλογές των δημοτικών τραγουδιών του κόμη De Marcellus' [Following the footsteps of Fauriel: The folk song collections of Count Marcellus], in *Λόγος και χρόνος στη νεοελληνική γραμματεία (18ος–19ος αιώνας). Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου προς τιμήν του Αλέξη Πολίτη* [Discourse and time in modern Greek letters (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries): Proceedings of a Conference in Honour of Alexis Politis], ed. by Alexis Kalokerinos, Stephanos Kaklamanis, and Dimitris Polychronakis (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2015), 23–39.

Papadopoulos Vretos, Andreas, *Βιογραφία Μαρίνου Παπαδοπούλου Βρετού* [A biography of Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos] (Athens: D.A. Mavrommatis, 1872).

Papadopoulou, Despina, *Les Grecs à Paris à la fin du XIX^e^ siècle, la construction d'une communauté migrante*, PhD dissertation (Paris: EHESS], 2004).

—, 'Ο ελληνικός περιοδικός Τύπος στο Παρίσι 1860–1912' [The Greek periodical press in Paris], *Μνήμων* [Mnemon], 27 (2005), 151–180.

Politis, Alexis, 'Η δημόσια ανάγνωση των *Περσών* σε φαναριώτικο αρχοντικό τον Οκτώβρη του 1820 και η αφήγησή της από τον Marcellus στα 1859' [The public reading of Aeschylus' *The Persians* at a Phanariot mansion in October of 1820 and its narration by Marcellus in 1859], in *Παράδοση και εκσυγχρονισμός στο νεοελληνικό θέατρο: από τις απαρχές ως τη μεταπολεμική εποχή. Πρακτικά του Γ΄ Πανελλήνιου Θεατρολογικού Συνεδρίου. Αφιερωμένο στον Θόδωρο Χατζηπανταζή, Ρέθυμνο 23–26 Οκτωβρίου 2008* [Tradition and modernisation in modern Greek theatre from its beginnings until the post-war era: Proceedings of the 3rd Panhellenic Congress of Theatre Studies, dedicated to Thodoros Hatzipantazis, Rethymno, 23–26 October 2008] (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2010), 383–399.

—, 'Από τον Φωριέλ στην Ιουλιέτα Λαμπέρ-Αδάμ: Η παρουσία της ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στα γαλλικά γράμματα' [From Fauriel to Juliette Lamber-Adam. The presence of Greek literature in French culture], in *Actes du Colloque, La France et la Grèce au XIX^e^ siècle*, ed. by Evangelos Chryssos (Athens: Hellenic Parliament Foundation, 2012), 143–166.

—, 'Αναζητώντας το αντικειμενικό στις υποκειμενικές πληροφορίες. Ταξιδιώτες των μέσων του 19ου αιώνα: J.-A. Buchon, Εδμόνδος Αμπού και άλλοι' [Searching for the objectivity through subjective information. Travelers of the middle of nineteenth century: J.A. Buchon, Edmond About *et al.*], *Αριάδνη* [Ariadni], 18 (2012), 223–252.

Provata, Despina, 'La presse francophone grecque. Revendications nationales et ouverture vers l'Europe', in *Presses allophones de Méditerranée*, ed. by Jean-Yves Empereur, and Marie-Delphine Martellière (Alexandrie: Centre d'Études Alexandrines, 2017), 285–287.

—, 'Η Ελληνική ως διεθνής γλώσσα: μια ουτοπική πρόταση του Gustave d'Eichthal' [Greek as an international language: The utopian proposal of Gustave d'Eichthal], in *Πρακτικά 1ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου. Η γλώσσα σε έναν κόσμο που αλλάζει* [Proceedings of the First International Conference: Language in a Changing World], ed. by E. Leontaridi *et al.* (Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens – Language Centre, 2008), 447–453.

Samiou, Antigoni, *L'Image des Grecs Modernes à travers les récits des voyageurs en langue française de 1830 à 1860*, PhD dissertation (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2005).

Sartorius, Francis, *Tirs Croisés. La petite presse bruxelloise des années 1860* (Tusson: Du Lérot, 2004).

Tolias, George, 'The resilience of philhellenism', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 13 (2017), 51–70. [doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.12681/hr.11556] (12 April 2019).

Tsaliki-Milioni, Tatiana, 'Ο Προσπέρ Μεριμέ στην Ελλάδα' [Prosper Merimee in Greece], in the Proceedings of International Symposium *Ο περιηγητισμός στην Ελλάδα τον 18ο και τον 19ο αιώνα* [Travels in Greek lands during the eighteenth and nineteenth century] (Athens: University of Athens, 1997), 61–67.

Valenti, Catherine, 'L'École française d'Athènes au cœur des relations franco-helléniques, 1846–1946', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 50:4 (2003/2004), 92–107.

Van Steen, Gonda, *Liberating Hellenism from the Ottoman Empire: Comte de Marcellus and the Last of the Classics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Varelas, Lambros (ed.), *Μαρίνος Παπαδόπουλος Βρετός. Ο πατροκατάρατος και άλλα αφηγήματα* [Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos: *Patrokataratos* and other narratives] (Athens: Nefeli, 2004).

Verschaffel, Tom, Reine Meylaerts, Tessa Lobbes, Maud Gonne, and Lieven D' Hulst, 'Towards a multipolar model of cultural mediators within multicultural spaces: Cultural mediators in Belgium, 1830–1945', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 92:4 (2014), 1255–1275.

About the author

Stessi Athini is Associate Professor of Modern Greek Literature at the University of Patras. She received her PhD in modern Greek literature from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Her scientific and research interests focus on modern Greek literature of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, on the Greek Enlightenment and on cultural transfers. She has published articles and chapters in Greek, French and English on topics including cultural mediation, modern Greek translation history, press

and journals, Fenelon's reception, etc. She is author of the book *Όψεις της νεοελληνικής αφηγηματικής πεζογραφίας, 1700–1830: Ο διάλογος με τις ελληνικές και ξένες παραδόσεις στη θεωρία και την πράξη* (Aspects of modern Greek narrative prose, 1700–1830: Dialogue with Greek and foreign traditions in theory and practice) (Athens: INR/NHRF, 2010) and co-author (with Ioannis Xourias) of the academic e-book *Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία: 1670–1830* (Modern Greek literature, 1670–1830) (Athens: Kallipos, 2015). Email: athini@upatras.gr.

2. Greek identities and French politics in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1846–1900)

Ourania Polycandrioti

Abstract
The longevity of the magazine *Revue des Deux Mondes*, its position among the French magazines, its contents, contributors and directors, all prominent scholars of France, establish the *Revue des Deux Mondes* as an important record of intellectual and political life in the nineteenth century, as well as of the way in which the West in general and France in particular regarded contemporary Greece during the same period. This study aims to provide an overview of all Greek-themed articles in the magazine from 1829 to 1899, with the purpose of exploring the various aspects of ancient and contemporary Hellenism, in relation to France's foreign policies as well as the activities of the French School at Athens.

Keywords: Modern Greece, ancient Greece, French School at Athens, French policies, geography, Mediterranean travels

The French magazine *Revue des Deux Mondes*[1] was created on 1 August 1829, with the title: *La Revue des Deux Mondes, recueil de la politique, de l'administration et des mœurs* [The Magazine of the Two Worlds: An Overview of Politics, Administration and Customs]. Prosper Mauroy (political editor)

1 Thereafter abbreviated to *RdDM*. This study expands and deepens the first outcome of a research on the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which was carried out within the broader research programme 'Travel Literature in Southeast Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, 16th-20th c.' of the Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation. Part of the research material, based on literary articles of the *RdDM*, has been published in O. Polycandrioti, "Οψεις της Ελλάδας του 19ου αιώνα στο περιοδικό *Revue des Deux Mondes*" [Aspects of Greece of the nineteenth century in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*], Proceedings of the Colloquium *La France et la Grèce au XIX*e *siècle*, ed. by Evanghelos Chryssos and Christophe Farnaud (Athens: The Hellenic Parliament Foundation, 2013), 301–312.

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH02

and Pierre de Ségur-Dupeyron (from the Ministry of Interior Affairs) were the founders of the magazine. Initially, its content was mainly geographical. On 8 February 1830, Mauroy bought the magazine *Journal des Voyages* (founded in 1818), which merged with the *Revue des Deux Mondes* to form a new entity bearing the long title: *Revue des Deux Mondes, journal des voyages, de l'administration, des mœurs, etc., chez les différents peuples du globe, ou archives géographiques et historiques du XIX*e *siècle* [Magazine of the Two Worlds: Journal of Travels, Administration, Customs etc., among the Different Peoples of the Globe, or Geographical and Historical Archives of the Nineteenth Century]. The publication ceased the day after the Revolution of 1830 and the magazine, at least in part, ended up in 1831 in the hands of the gifted François Buloz, who remained its editor until his death in 1877. Buloz, born in 1804, was just 27 years old when his life was inextricably linked to that of the *RdDM*. Buloz passionately fought for the financial survival of the magazine, and managed to turn it into an established publication in continuous circulation, in spite of occasionally adverse political circumstances.[2]

The strict selection of contributors and the attraction of the best writers from other publications, as well as occasional mergers (such as the one with the *Revue de Paris*), the adoption of tested methods for boosting circulation (such as the serialisation of novels), the wider variety of content, Buloz's ability to maintain a delicate political balance, even his remarkable intransigence in editing and typesetting essays himself, eventually turned the *RdDM* into an institution in nineteenth-century France. After Buloz's death in 1877, his son Charles succeeded Buloz as editor, with the help of long-time collaborators of his father's. Yet Charles Buloz had neither the wide appeal his father enjoyed, nor the same level of altruistic self-denial. In 1893, Buloz's family decided to hand direction of the magazine over to Ferdinand Brunetière, previously secretary to the editor, who had published over 200 articles on literature and philosophy.

The magazine's longevity, its special status among French print publications – a status also linked with French foreign policy – the topics covered by the magazine (politics, history, diplomacy, literature, geography), its contributors and editors, who were important figures in France, make the *RdDM* an important collection of evidence on political life during the nineteenth century, an aspect of which involved the way in which the West more generally, and France more specifically, addressed Hellenism during the same period.

2 See Broglie, *Histoire politique de la* Revue des Deux Mondes *de 1829 à 1979*, and Furman, *La* Revue des Deux Mondes *et le romantisme* (*1831–1848*).

From the indexing of the magazine's volumes, and with the help of the comprehensive index which has been published for the period 1829–1899,[3] a total of about 380 articles on Greece (ancient and modern) have been identified to date. An initial picture of the manner in which Greece is presented in the *RdDM* context can be obtained by looking at its position in the index categories. In the thematic index, under the 'Travel and Ethnography' theme, Greece is placed in the subcategory 'Europe', as is Turkey. Greece also includes Cyprus. At the same time, the subcategory 'Asia' includes travelogues on the countries of the Levant ('pays du Levant'), that is, Asia Minor, eastern Turkey, and more generally the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. It is notable that the geographic categorisation of the articles in the index is made on historical terms, which indirectly explain its title: Greece is filed under 'Old World' ('Ancien monde'), together with European countries. Greece is therefore neither part of the East nor of the Levant, but a part of the European old world. This categorisation reflects the intellectual, classically educated profile of the magazine's contributors, while also demonstrating that Greece is perceived through the filter of classical antiquity as the foundation of Western civilisation.

Among the articles are approximately 160 on topics pertinent to purely archaeological knowledge: archaeology (38), ancient history (20), classical philology (54), philosophy and religion (22), sciences (7), ancient art, or contemporary art featuring ancient Greek themes (16). References to Byzantium or the Middle Ages are few and far between: just 5 articles on Byzantine history topics, and another 5 in modern history (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries). Contemporary Greece is featured in about 138, distributed as follows: 76 articles address events in contemporary Greek politics, society, economy, and education, including 30 pertaining to the Eastern Question. In addition to these, there are 57 travelogues, plus 5 articles on military issues. This thematic categorisation of the content is of course only indicative, as the articles often contain a wide variety of information, as is the case, for example, with travelogues.

The spread and frequency with which articles focusing on Greece through the ages appeared reflects the successive forms that French interest in Greece took, and could be the subject of extensive study. Let it be noted that there is not a single year between the foundation of the magazine and the late nineteenth century during which a minimum of three articles on Greece were not published. Equally remarkable is the fact that not a single

3 The index was gradually published in four volumes in 1875 (1831–1874), 1886 (1874–1885), 1893 (1886–1893) and 1901 (1893–1901).

article is authored by a Greek. To the contrary, chief among the authors are the members of the French School at Athens, founded in 1846.

Generally, the image of Greece in the *RdDM* reflects the magazine's scholarly character, with emphasis on ancient art, philosophy, and philology, while its contemporary image is moulded to reflect the interests of French foreign and diplomatic policy in the broader area of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. The image of Greece through the articles in the *RdDM* is two-sided: on the one hand, Hellenic antiquity is promoted as the shared heritage of Western civilisation and the object of classical studies, defying any national categorisation. On the other hand, antiquity indirectly permeates the totality of articles on contemporary Greek society, and remains the uninterrupted comparative measure by which it is assessed, thereby also reflecting the political pursuits of France and her interests on the new conditions under Greek state sovereignty. The multiple references to antiquity do not only highlight the classical education of the magazine editors, but also constitute, for readers, a self-explanatory comparative interpretative filter, which to them constitutes the most familiar criterion for examining the new Hellenism. It eventually becomes apparent that the cultural context for evaluating contemporary Greece is not so much that of the East and of orientalism, but that of classical antiquity, with the inevitable consequence that, slowly but surely, the ancient past fades in light of the modern state being created.

In the period between 1829 and 1846, the year in which the French School at Athens was founded, classical antiquity dominates the magazine's pages. The philhellenic movement and the aftermath of the Greek Revolution of 1821 are linked to the spirit of Romanticism permeating the magazine's early decades. This, for example, is the period when Victor Hugo's poem 'Canaris' was published,[4] as well as other romantic poems featuring ancient Greek themes.[5] Very generally, however, treatises on classical philology and philosophy seek not only to develop knowledge in these fields, but also to identify the root of the Western spirit and civilisation, in terms of reviving antiquity in contemporary thought. Indicatively, between 1834 and 1837, Eugène Lerminier published a series of treatises on ancient Greek history and philosophy (Thucydides, Pindarus, Herodotus, Aristotle),[6] alternating with treatises on Latin philology. Edgar Quinet studied how

4 'Fragment', *RdDM*, 1 November 1832, 323–326.

5 See, for example, Auguste Barbier, 'Terpsichore'; Edgar Quinet, 'Prométhée'; V. de Laprade, 'Éleusis'.

6 Lerminier, 'Études de l'antiquité. Thucydide'; 'Pindare'; 'Hérodote'; 'La politique d'Aristote'.

Homeric epics survived through the centuries,[7] as well as the relation between Christianity and the myth of Prometheus.[8] The magazine also published Jules Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire's inaugural lecture, following his election to the chair of Greek and Latin philosophy at the Collège de France, which addressed the need to revive Aristotle's peripatetic philosophy.[9] Charles Magnin searched for the roots of contemporary Western theatre in the theatre of ancient Greece,[10] while Louis A. Binaut notes the revival in classical studies and highlights the perennial idea of personal freedom and individual responsibility. He attributes the progressive spirit of Europe to ancient Greece, and contrasts it to the inert spirit of the East.[11] In the same spirit are many presentations of new publications of ancient texts in studies in classical philology.

Contemporary Greece had not yet made its presence felt in the pages of the *RdDM*, while the impetus for the relatively limited references to it is, on the one hand, the Eastern Question, and, on the other, descriptions of travels. Most of the authors of these articles had travelled in Greece and Turkey, so the opinions they express are through personal experience and personal reflection on the circumstances. The expression of disappointment towards the image of contemporary Greek society, which falls short of mythologised antiquity, is apparent in travel texts,[12] but permeates philological ones as well. Jean-Jacques Ampère, attempting to learn about the place which bore ancient Greek poetry, compares the Greece of ancient texts to the contemporary image of the country in an article titled 'La poésie grecque en Grèce' [Greek poetry in Greece, 1844] and notes that: 'We must always remember that modern Greece is but the skeleton of ancient Greece, coated in memories.'[13] Philhellenic inspiration is progressively replaced by disappointment with the modern reality befalling ancient Greece.

During this period, most of the texts relating to Greece in a general sense or to topics of Greek interest appear between 1837 and 1838 and in 1841. The

7 Quinet, 'Des poètes épiques. Homère'.

8 Lerminier, 'De la fable de Prométhée considérée dans ses rapports avec le Christianisme'.

9 Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, 'Collège de France. Cours de philosophie grecque et latine. Étude du Péripatétisme'.

10 Magnin, 'Études sur les origines du Théâtre antique pour servir d'introduction à l'histoire des origines du théâtre moderne'.

11 Binaut, 'Homère et la Philosophie grecque. Bibliothèque grecque publiée par Firmin Didot'.

12 This disappointment is also expressed by Alexis de Valon in his description of Tinos from 1843: 'Que d'illusions s'envolent quand on arrive en Grèce' [Illusions shatter when we arrive in Greece] ('L'île de Tine').

13 'Il faut nous rappeler toujours que la Grèce actuelle c'est le squelette de la Grèce ancienne, avec un manteau de souvenirs' (Ampère, 'La poésie grecque en Grèce').

themes of the sixteen texts published between 1837 and 1838 more or less correspond to those which have already been pointed out: these are texts on ancient philosophy and art, literary texts with themes pertaining to antiquity, texts on ethnology and travelogues, as well as articles on political and contemporary history, on the Eastern Question and the role of France in the political stakes in the wider area of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. Two extensive ethnological texts are published in 1837, one on Wallachia and Moldova,[14] plus another one on Turkey, the Asia Minor coast and the nearby islands (Tenedos, Limnos, Rhodes, Kos), Egypt and other areas of the Near East.[15] The first text addresses a need to inform readers on the two small states of Wallachia and Moldova, which play a significant role in the Eastern Question, which is referred to as the 'question of the future'. The text includes a general geographical description, a social overview, including a generous dose of stereotypes, a historical and contemporary description of the political situation and, to conclude, of course, a discussion of the role that France should play in this difficult balancing act: should it support the Christian communities and Russia, or the Muslim communities and Turkey?[16] In the other text, the traveller's point of view, that of the duke of Ragusa, Auguste-Frédéric Louis Viesse de Marmont, as reported by Eugène Lerminier in his article for the magazine, proves his deep understanding of antiquity. Yet Lerminier's own comments and conclusions are political and are testament to France's key positions on the Eastern Question circa 1837[17]: the Ottoman Empire must be preserved as much as possible, while France's attempt to dominate the wider area, mainly the Arab countries and Egypt. Another eight articles featuring themes pertinent to or of interest to Greece were published on 1841. Of those, two address the Eastern Question, three are studies of classical philology and literature, two are articles on contemporary politics, of which one is about Ioannis Kapodistrias's correspondence and the

14 Bucharest, 'La Moldavie et la Valachie'.

15 Lerminier, 'Voyage du duc de Raguse (en Turquie, Égypte, etc.)'.

16 Bucharest, 'La Moldavie et la Valachie', 169–170.

17 Lerminier, 'Voyage du duc de Raguse (en Turquie, Égypte, etc.)': 'Il ne faut apporter dans les affaires ni précipitation, ni désespoir. Les périls qui menacent l'empire ottoman, loin d'inspirer à la France de la négligence et du dégoût, doivent l'exciter au contraire à lutter par tous les moyens contre l'ingratitude de la situation. Il importe que l'empire turc vive le plus long-temps possible. […] Soutenir l'empire turc le plus long-temps possible, montrer à la race arabe que son meilleur allié, dans l'Occident, est le peuple et le génie de la France, exercer une grande autorité morale en Égypte, une domination réelle en Afrique; voilà, pour ce qui regarde l'Orient, le thème de la politique française. Ces intérêts, bien que leur théâtre soit lointain, n'en ont pas moins une réalité très positive. La France doit toujours songer à l'Orient, *Orientem componi*, suivant l'expression de Tacite' (760–761).

other is about the issue of the opening of the Suez Canal. On contemporary literature, there is one text referring to the second translated edition of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* by Piccolo.[18]

The above distribution of topics reflects both the image of Greece in the eyes of the French as well as, in the main, France's political interests at the time, which concerned the wider area of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans, with political dominance as its main concern and prospect. Some years later, in 1846, the French School at Athens was founded while other French Schools followed around the Mediterranean: the French School at Rome was founded in 1875, and the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology was founded in 1880 in Cairo. The French School at Madrid (Casa de Velázquez) was founded last, in 1920. In relevant texts, Greece is generally largely absent during that time. The Greek presence is articulated through the idea of antiquity as shared European heritage, or via a wider geopolitical overview, of which Greece is part. In any case, it becomes clear from the relevant magazine articles that France's main concern during the long nineteenth century is the acquisition of a strong position in geopolitical developments in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean, which is unstable during, as well as after, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

During the period between 1846 and 1870, the image of modern Greece, a destination for archaeological excavations, scientific missions, as well as political interests, appeared lacking in the articles of the magazine, in favour of that of ancient Greece, with the exception of a few glimpses of memory from the recent glory days of the Revolution.[19] To philological and philosophical studies were added articles on archaeology, which reflect the particular interests and goals of the French School at Athens, which progressively became an established presence.[20] This is an important event with respect to the content of the magazine, as members of the French School increasingly contributed to it: archaeological studies increased in number, while reviews and correspondence on the contemporary situation in the country and its cultural milieu were the expected by-product of prolonged stays in Athens. The aim is twofold. The French School could not possibly ignore the contemporary reality of the country in which it is hosted while, at the same time, through the bleak conclusions drawn from the descriptions, it consolidated the need for its continued existence.

18 Mars, 'Œuvres de M. Piccolos en grec moderne, traduction de *Paul et Virginie* en grec'.

19 See, for example, Yéméniz, 'Les héros de la Grèce moderne. I. Photos Tsavellas – II. Marc Botzaris – III. L'amiral Miaoulis'.

20 See Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 52–57.

And yet, at the same time, through the increasing devaluation of modern Hellenism, the philhellenic current continued to be perceived as an established interpretive filter of Hellenism by scholarly Europe, in a romantic context. This philhellenic and romantic attitude towards Hellenism reveals, on the one hand, the tradition of classical antiquity and, on the other, serves as a precursor to the trends which would later appear in Greek intellectual life, which became especially prominent from 1880 onwards: these tendencies have been traced in Europe since the beginning of the nineteenth century, but in modern Greek literature they manifest themselves more clearly through the development of ethnography. More specifically, they consist in the search for antiquity and the associated Greek cultural identity in local traditions and folk songs, an element which reveals ethnography's debts to Romanticism.

During that time, there are more travel narratives on the region, enriched with descriptions of contemporary society. Italian Sansimonist Christina Trivulgio di Belgiojoso (1808–1871) travelled to Near Eastern countries during that time, including a visit to Athens, and recorded impressions and local folklore and customs in a series of 'Turco-Asian narratives' – short, fictionalised socio-ethnological texts, permeated by a romantic orientalism, with young Edina as their protagonist. All these texts were published in the magazine during 1856 and early 1857.[21]

The year 1863 marks a climb in the number of articles the magazine publishes on Greece or more generally topics which could be considered as being of Greek interest. The year is, in any case, pivotal for both France and Greece. In France, Napoleon III is forced to carry out elections in order to provide greater democratic freedoms and to address reaction within the country. At the same time, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* toned down its oppositional stance, without fully abandoning its critical stance towards the government.[22] In Greece, the year 1863 is that of the so-called mid-reign, between the expulsion of Otto in October 1862 and the crowning of George I as the new 'King of the Greeks' in October 1863. The new constitution, which replaced constitutional monarchy with crowned democracy, was voted on in 1864, while the Heptanese was also transferred to Greece by Britain that year.

The understanding of antiquity is always at the forefront of articles on Greek topics. In the 1 January 1863 issue George Sand published a short play

21 See, for example, Belgiojoso, 'Récits turco-asiatiques. Emina' and 'Récits turco-asiatiques. Un paysan turc'.

22 Broglie, *Histoire politique de la* Revue des Deux Mondes *de 1829 à 1979*, 122–126.

titled: 'Plutus. Étude d'après le théâtre antique'. Based on Aristophanes's *Plutus*, enriched with contemporary social concerns, the play is among those stages at the theatre which George Sand had set up in her home in Nohant. Besides a number of articles on ancient history, art and philology, we also read a presentation by Imbert de Saint-Amand of Dora d'Istria's travel publication *Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée*,[23] as well as a series of travel narratives on Asia Minor by renowned Hellenist Georges Perrot.[24] Perrot's travel narratives continued over the next year and describe the rest of his travels in Crete.[25] These publications formed the basis of the stand-alone editions of Perrot's travel narratives in Asia Minor and Greece.

The articles referring to modern Greece and therefore newer Greek literary outputs are therefore few and far between. Under the category 'Literature' in the comprehensive *RdDM* index, Greece is mainly represented by the romantic poets Aristotelis Valaoritis, Georgios Zalokostas and Theodoros Orfanidis. In those articles, the reading of contemporary Greek poetry is less literary and more factual and ethnographic, aiming to revive heroic moments of the struggle for freedom under the shadow of classical antiquity, while clearly being a reflection of the philhellenic spirit. Those articles tackle contemporary Greek poetry exclusively through the prism of revival, a revival not documented, as perhaps the Greeks of the time would expect, by the artificially resuscitated archaistic language, nor by the poetically processed demotic. To the contrary, for the authors of the articles, revival is documented by the unadulterated language of folk songs, which they view as being the undeniable proof of historical continuity. This remark contradicts the tendencies occurring in Greece at the same time, when it is the archaistic artificial language *katharevousa* which is considered to be the mirroring of the ancient language and the proof of continuity.

Dora d'Istria wrote about the poetry of Aristotelis Valaoritis in an article titled: 'La poésie grecque contemporaine dans les îles ioniennes. M. Valaoritis et ses souvenirs des guerres de l'Indépendance'.[26] The questions which Dora d'Istria identifies as pertinent include, on the one hand, the need to appreciate the literary value of poetic output from the Ionian Islands and,

23 *RdDM*, 1 October 1863.

24 Perrot, 'Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure. I. L'Olympe galate et les Turcs d'Anatolie – II. Trois mois à Angora, l'Administration turque et les Chrétiens – III. La vie Turque en province – IV. Amasia et l'influence chrétienne en Turquie'.

25 Perrot, 'L'île de Crète. Souvenirs de voyage. I. Le Pays: caractères physiques et productions naturelles. Les ruines – II. Les habitants: Turcs, Grecs et Sfakiotes. L'île depuis la guerre de l'indépendance'.

26 *RdDM*, 1 March 1858, 57-88.

on the other, the need to determine the extent to which this poetic output constitutes a true intellectual renaissance for the Greek space. The first part of the article focuses on a comprehensive presentation of the Ionian Islands which, through their poetry, according to Dora d'Istria, 'revealed unexpected glimpses of power and vitality'. According to her geographical and historical description of the Ionian Islands, the links to their ancient past are ever present, and function as a point of reference for understanding the present.

Commenting on the Heptanesian intellectual output, Dora d'Istria of course refers to Solomos for his *Hymn to Liberty*, which was translated widely and which tugged on the heartstrings of Europe, but also for *Lambros*, while at the same time highlighting the Western influences in his poetry, which make it lack in genuinely Greek character. She argues, in fact, that Solomos did not know ancient Greek, a language which could provide great linguistic depth, so he instead confined himself to spoken Greek, in which he was also not fluent in. Solomos's language, according to Dora d'Istria, is a language without character ('sans caractère') while, on the other hand, the language of Valaoritis, namely the idiom of Epirus, echoes its Doric roots. Valaoritis's poetry is appreciated in the context of the heroic events it describes, and which Dora d'Istria writes about extensively, in such a way that her text ends up being its own unique and exciting narrative. In summary, her presentation of the poetry of Valaoritis is a narrative of heroic scenes from the Revolution, and is clearly part of the philhellenic tradition and the diptych at its core: on the one hand, the model of antiquity, which always operates in terms of origin, continuity, and comparison with modern Hellenism and, on the other, the heroic deeds of the Greeks in their battle for freedom. It could even be argued that this text by Dora d'Istria attempts to restore the chasms of philhellenism and the discounting of modern Hellenism, which was progressively taking place in the European consciousness.

Diplomat Eugène Yéméniz, of Greek heritage, Consul of Greece in Lyon, France, wrote about the poets Georgios Zalokostas and Theodoros Orfanidis, in an article notably titled: 'De la renaissance littéraire en Grèce. Les poètes Zalokostas et Orphanidis'.[27] According to Yéméniz, the lack of interest on the part of Europe for contemporary Greek literature is because the ancient language is long dead and no one is interested in examining its modern mutation. Always within the spirit of the philhellenic and romantic diptych of antiquity and patriotism/heroism, Yéméniz stresses that contemporary Greek poetry has, on the one hand, succeeded ancient Greek poetry, in the

27 *RdDM*, 1 May 1860, 212–242.

same language and the same geographical space and, on the other hand, is permeated mainly by the feelings of love towards the homeland and towards freedom.[28] In an attempt to stress the Greekness of this poetry, he clearly distinguishes it from European Romanticism: Greek poets draw from folk songs, which are the spontaneous creations of heroism and love of freedom. For this reason, their poetry is completely alien to the 'sweet melancholy, vague sadness, and dreamy fantasies of Westerners'.[29] The poetry of the Greeks, according to Yéméniz, is narrative poetry based on reality, without abstract exaggerations, while the perhaps excessive editing of the lyrics can but originate in the language of Homer and Plato. Reading *Hani of Gravia* and *Armatoloi and Klephts* by Georgios Zalokostas, Yéméniz, like Dora d'Istria, revives heroic moments in the struggles of the Greeks for freedom. Zalokostas's language, Yéméniz notes, is not the *katharevousa* (an archaic, purified form of Greek) of the Athenian poets. Yéméniz claims that the demotic idiom was cultivated in the spirit of the ancient language and ended up becoming a pure, harmonious, and melodic tongue, having rid itself of every foreign and barbaric element.[30] The school of the 'vulgaristes', the demoticists, that is, the group to which Zalokostas belonged, was of course replaced by adroit and elegant writers, such as Theodoros Orfanidis, who penned *Anna and Floros, or the Tower of Petra* and *Chios Enslaved*. In the competently edited *katharevousa* of Orfanidis, Yéméniz notes a continuity from antiquity: 'Reading his verses, we'd sometimes like to believe that they were written 2000 years ago, and this is the greatest praise we could give.'[31]

However, Yéméniz clarifies the ancient roots of Greek romantic poetry by declaring the new directions of the philhellenic movement and, more generally, the new intellectual trends in Greek society. He contrasts, that is, the pure and genuine Greekness of the folk tradition with the European spirit. Thus, although the form and style of Zalokostas's poetry still carry obvious semi-barbaric elements, an influence of centuries of decline and oppression, his thought, on the other hand, is permeated by the ancient spirit[32] and his heroes are closely related to those of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In contrast,

28 *Ibidem*, 215.

29 'La douce mélancolie, la vague tristesse, les rêveries des imaginations occidentales sont des sentiments étrangers à la muse des Grecs modernes', *ibidem*, 215.

30 'En lisant ses vers, on serait parfois tenté de les croire écrits depuis deux mille ans, et c'est le plus bel éloge qu'on puisse en faire', *ibidem*, 230.

31 *Ibidem*, 242.

32 'Zalokostas subit encore dans sa forme et dans son style semi-barbares l'influence des siècles de décadence et de servitude que les Hellènes ont traversés. En revanche, sa pensée est tout empreinte du génie antique', *ibidem*, 242.

Orfanidis, despite the fact that the form of his poetry reflects the ancient language, has dared to delve into Western and modern experimentation, which spoil the heroism of his characters and which renders the influence of his poetry in the development of Greek literature doubtful. One thing is certain for Yéméniz: the Greeks owe their political renaissance to the vitality and unbroken presence of the ancient spirit ('génie antique'), in their race ('race'), which is the only factor capable of securing their intellectual renaissance.

The wider turn of French thought towards the search for the ancient spirit in the living folk tradition is corroborated by the folkloric pursuits of travellers. In 1855, Émile Beulé, in an article titled 'Athènes et les Grecs modernes',[33] written on the occasion of *Athènes aux quinzième, seizième et dix-septième siècles* by Léon de Laborde, notices the reversal of the philhellenic European attitude. Yet the disappointment of the travellers, according to Beulé, is due to the ills of civilisation encountered, after all, in every European city. In order to experience the real Greece, one must travel outside of Athens, to the countryside, in order to meet simple folk going about their everyday family lives. This is exactly Paul d'Estournelles de Constant's goal who, in 1876–1877, published a series of travel narratives from his journey to Greece.[34] Contemporary Greece is, of course, disappointing when compared to the imaginary memory of ancient Greece. However, the natural landscape, glorious, romantic, and bucolic, often serves a unifying link between the past and the present and, to a certain degree, sanctifies it.[35]

Let us also not forget that, in 1876, the Eastern Question took centre stage, with the Herzegovina Uprising, and uprisings in Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro the following year. France's political interest was particularly intense, while the uprisings also sparked debate on national identities. This interest was expressed in the magazine through political correspondence and commentaries as well as through articles of greater national and local

33 *RdDM,* 1 June 1855, 1042–1057.

34 Paul d'Estournelles de Constant, 'La vie de province en Grèce –- I. Dix mois de séjour en Achaie –- II. La Locride des Ozoles –- III. Excursion en Achaie et en Arcadie'.

35 'Je ne pouvais détacher mes yeux de ce tableau; tout ce que j'avais lu, tout ce que j'avais appris, me revenait à la pensée; il me semble que j'ai mieux compris à cet instant pourquoi l'antiquité ne cherchait pas dans le vague de l'infini la demeure de ses dieux: en présence de cette nature si grandiose, l'homme ne pouvait rêver pour eux de plus splendide séjour que ces belles montagnes qu'un soleil d'or éclaire, et dont les cimes brillantes semblent toucher aux cieux. La nuit venait, claire, silencieuse, comme toutes les nuits d'Orient; à peine entendais-je encore, avec le dernier appel du berger, résonner le tintement des clochettes d'un troupeau de chèvres broutant au-dessous de nous quelques pousses perdues', Paul Estournelles de Constant, 'La vie de province en Grèce – II. La Locride des Ozoles', *RdDM,* 1876, 464.

interest. This gaze is not only – or at least not exclusively – that of the classicist,[36] but also that of the curious, the person who is interested in the contemporary makeup of the people of the broader Balkan region, their everyday lives, and their folklore. As a result, 1877 marks the year during which relevant articles on history and politics increased dramatically.[37]

Besides, from the mid-century, an increasingly more intense discussion is being developed on the genealogical and cultural identity of the Greeks. Without adopting Fallmerayer's opinions, the Indo-European origin of the Greeks and their genealogical and cultural contiguity with the peoples of the East are highlighted in an article by Émile Burnouf, published one month after the Cretan revolt in August 1866, titled 'Origines de la poésie hellénique. L'hymne, l'épopée et le drame'.[38] Burnouf, presenting the French translation of the work by Otfried Muller, *Histoire de la littérature grecque* [History of Greek literature, 1866] notes:

> We are surprised that Muller took no notice of the simple fact that almost none of the names of Greek deities is a Greek word. These gods and their names are therefore coming from afar, and it is there where their original meaning can be found, the origin of which we ought to study.[39]

He even cites the story of Hercules as an example; the myth is of Asian origin, but the Greeks, in setting it within their own geographical space, imbued it with their own particular spirit. For Burnouf, the cradle of Western civilisation is the holy scripture of the Indians, the Vedas, which constitute

36 See, for example, Jules Girard, 'L'interprétation de l' "Antigone" de Sophocle', *RdDM*, 1 January 1877, 105–124.

37 Valbert (pen name of Victor Cherbuliez), 'Quelques réflexions sur la Conférence de Constantinople', *RdDM,* 1 February 1877, 688-699; Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, 'La Grèce, l'hellénisme et la question d'Orient', *RdDM,* 1 April 1877, 526-556. Laurent Albert, 'La question crétoise', *RdDM,* 1 June 1877, 636-653; Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, 'Les préliminaires de la guerre turco-russe', *RdDM,* 1 October 1877, 198-213; Valbert, 'Philottomans et Turcophobes', *RdDM,* 1 October 1877, 692-704; Valbert, 'La guerre russo-turque en 1828 et en 1877', *RdDM,* 1 November 1877, 212-222; Paul d'Estournelles de Constant, 'Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie', par le comte de Saint-Priest', *RdDM,* 15 November 1877.

38 Burnouf, 'Origines de la poésie hellénique. L'hymne, l'épopée et le drame. *Histoire de la littérature grecque*, par Otfried Muller, traduite par K. Hillebrand, 2 vol. 1866', *RdDM,* 1 October 1866, 721–746.

39 'On est surpris que Muller n'ait pas été frappé de ce fait si simple que presque aucun des noms des dieux helléniques n'est un mot grec. Ces dieux et leurs noms viennent donc de plus haut, et c'est là donc où ils ont une signification primordiale qu'il en faut chercher l'origine', *ibidem*, 727.

the true Holy Scripture of both the West and the East.[40] The same can be said about the myth of Orpheus, who was considered to be the father of poetry and music: 'His Asian origin has these days been recognised, while we know that Orpheus, just like his name, does not belong to Greece as such.'[41]

The reply of the most fervent philhellenes shifts the emphasis to the folk tradition. Dora d'Istria[42] searches for the Hellenic identity in folk songs, and addresses the criticism of Europeans by noting that: 'A few sporadic gunshots in the streets of Athens or the nearby mountains make more noise in Europe than the incessant profound improvements which renewed the face of this country in just a few years.'[43] This quest for national identity in folk tradition will, after all, be taken up by Greek intellectual life a little later, with Nikolaos Politis's folkloric work and the subsequent development of ethnocentric prose fiction.

It is clear that, at around the middle of the century, the spirit that had prevailed in the first decades following the foundation of the Greek state changed. The West, recognising its debts to the ancient spirit, was once an ally, fighting on the side of the oppressed Greeks. Yet this same ancient spirit, when morphing from an idealistic vision into a measure of comparison to which reality could not possibly live up to, served as an impediment to the unbiased perception of modern Hellenism. Then, some sought the traces of antiquity in the folk tradition, with equally arbitrary identifications. In the pages of the *RdDM*, in fragments, like the pieces of a puzzle, through articles on literature, history, travel, and their comparative reading and evolution over time, a story is found. The story of a perception and its shifts, both positive and negative: disappointment, sarcasm, awe and leniency, curiosity and ignorance, stereotypical representations, romantic quests and political interests. In any case, a magazine, a fascinating microcosm of spiritual pursuits and political choices, crystallises the trends in French ideas and stereotypes, and clearly reflects the multifaceted image of Greece during the nineteenth century.

40 'C'est donc là qu'il faut chercher les premiers germes d'où sont nés plus tard les genres littéraires, et l'on voit que ces formes pour ainsi dire embryonnaires existaient longtemps avant les premiers établissements helléniques', *ibidem*, 729.

41 'Son origine asiatique est aujourd'hui reconnue, et l'on sait qu'Orphée, pas plus que son nom, n'appartient en propre à la Grèce', *ibidem*, 731.

42 'La nationalité hellénique d'après les chants populaires', *RdDM,* 1 August 1867, 587-627.

43 'Quelques coups de fusil de loin en loin dans les rues d'Athènes ou sur les montagnes voisines font plus de bruit en Europe que les améliorations profondes et incessantes qui ont en peu d'années renouvelé la face de ce pays.', *ibidem*, 627. Other articles by Dora d' Istria are written in the same spirit, researching the folk songs of the Albanians and the Turks ('La poésie populaire des Turcs orientaux', *RdDM,* 1 February 1873, 543-583).

Bibliography

Albert, Laurent, 'La question crétoise', *RdDM*, 1 June 1877, 636–653.

Ampère Jean-Jacques, 'La poésie grecque en Grèce', *RdDM*, 15 June 1844, 982–1015; 1 July 1844, 38–65.

Barbier, Auguste, 'Terpsichore', *RdDM*, 15 February 1834, 461–465.

Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, Jules, 'Collège de France. Cours de philosophie grecque et latine. Étude du Péripatétisme', *RdDM*, 1 February 1838, 375–391.

Basch, Sophie, *Le Mirage grec. La Grèce moderne devant l'opinion française* (*1846–1946*) (Paris: Hatier-Kauffmann, 1995).

Belgiojoso Christina Trivulgio di, 'Récits turco-asiatiques. Emina', *RdDM*, 1 February 1856, 465–504; 15 February 1856, 726–768.

—, 'Récits turco-asiatiques. Un paysan turc', *RdDM*, 1 November 1857; 15 November 1857; 1 December 1857.

Beulé, Émile, 'Athènes et les Grecs modernes', *RdDM*, 1 June 1855, 1042–1057.

Binaut, Louis A., 'Homère et la Philosophie grecque. Bibliothèque grecque publiée par Firmin Didot', *RdDM*, 15 March 1841, 866–902.

Broglie, Gabriel de, *Histoire politique de la* Revue des Deux Mondes *de 1829 à 1979* (Librairie académique Perrin, 1979).

Bucharest, M.A. de, 'La Moldavie et la Valachie', *RdDM*, 15 January 1837, 129–170.

Burnouf, Émile, 'Origines de la poésie hellénique. L'hymne, l'épopée et le drame. *Histoire de la littérature grecque*, par Otfried Muller, traduite par K. Hillebrand, 2 vol. 1866', *RdDM*, 1 October 1866, 721–746.

D'Istria, Dora, 'La poésie grecque contemporaine dans les îles ioniennes. M. Valaoritis et ses souvenirs des guerres de l'Indépendance', *RdDM*, 1 March 1858, 57–88.

—, 'La nationalité hellénique d'après les chants populaires', *RdDM*, 1 August 1867, 587–627.

—, 'La poésie populaire des Turcs orientaux', *RdDM*, 1 February 1873, 543–583.

Estournelles de Constant, Paul d', 'La vie de province en Grèce. I. Dix mois de séjour en Achaie. II. La Locride des Ozoles. III. Excursion en Achaie et en Arcadie', *RdDM*, 15 March 1876, 402–437; 15 September 1876, 449–469; 1 March 1877, 144–177.

—, 'Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie, par le comte de Saint-Priest', *RdDM*, 15 November 1877.

Furman, Nelly, *La* Revue des Deux Mondes *et le romantisme* (*1831–1848*) (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1975).

Girard, Jules, 'L'interprétation de l'"Antigone" de Sophocle', *RdDM*, 1 January 1877, 105–124.

Hugo, Victor, 'Fragment', *RdDM*, 1 November 1832, 323–326.

Imbert de Saint-Amand, 'Dora d'Istria, "Excursions en Roumélie et en Morée"', *RdDM*, 1 October 1863.

Laprade, Victor de, 'Éleusis', *RdDM*, 15 July 1841, 286–297.

La Revue des Deux Mondes, *Index*, 1875 (1831–1874), 1886 (1874–1885), 1893 (1886–1893) and 1901 (1893–1901).

Lerminier, Eugène, 'Études de l'antiquité. Thucydide', *RdDM*, 1 March 1834, 540–560.

—, 'Pindare', *RdDM*, 15 October 1835, 227–244.

—, 'Hérodote', *RdDM*, 1 February 1836, 327–342.

—, 'La politique d'Aristote', *RdDM*, 15 August 1837, 237–251.

—, 'Voyage du duc de Raguse (en Turquie, Égypte, etc.)', *RdDM*, 15 September 1837, 729–761.

—, 'De la fable de Prométhée considérée dans ses rapports avec le Christianisme', *RdDM*, 1 February 1838, 337–351.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole, 'La Grèce, l'hellénisme et la question d'Orient', *RdDM*, 1 April 1877, 526–556.

—, 'Les préliminaires de la guerre turco-russe', *RdDM*, 1 October 1877, 198–213.

Magnin, Charles, 'Études sur les origines du Théâtre antique pour servir d'introduction à l'histoire des origines du théâtre moderne. (i) Le Drame hiératique et le Drame populaire en Grèce. (ii) Le Drame aristocratique', *RdDM*, 15 March 1838, 681–731; 1 April 1838, 40–70.

Mars, Victor de, 'Œuvres de M. Piccolos en grec moderne, traduction de *Paul et Virginie* en grec', *RdDM*, 15 September 1841, 985–986.

Perrot, Georges, 'Souvenirs d'un voyage en Asie Mineure. I. L'Olympe galate et les Turcs d'Anatolie. II. Trois mois à Angora, l'Administration turque et les Chrétiens. III. La vie Turque en province. IV. Amasia et l'influence chrétienne en Turquie', *RdDM*, 1 January 1863; 1 March 1863; 15 March 1863, 1 April 1863; 15 April 1863.

—, 'L'île de Crète. Souvenirs de voyage. I. Le Pays: caractères physiques et productions naturelles. Les ruines. II. Les habitans: Turcs, Grecs et Sfakiotes. L'île depuis la guerre de l'indépendance', *RdDM*, 15 February 1864, 969–1006; 15 March 1864, 420–464.

Quinet, Edgar, 'Des poètes épiques. Homère', *RdDM*, 15 May 1836, 385–403.

—, 'Prométhée', *RdDM*, 15 August 1838, 472–490.

Valbert [pen name of Victor Cherbuliez], 'Quelques réflexions sur la Conférence de Constantinople', *RdDM*, 1 February 1877, 688–699.

—, 'Philottomans et Turcophobes', *RdDM*, 1 October 1877, 692–704.

—, 'La guerre russo-turque en 1828 et en 1877', *RdDM*, 1 November 1877, 212–222.

Valon, Alexis de, 'L'île de Tine', *RdDM*, 1 June 1843, 787–822.

Victor, Cherbuliez, see Valbert.

Yéméniz, E., 'Les héros de la Grèce moderne. I. Photos Tsavellas – II. Marc Botzaris – III. L'amiral Miaoulis', *RdDM*, 15 April 1859, 824–855; 15 June 1859, 833–866; 1 October 1859, 582–606.

—, 'De la renaissance littéraire en Grèce. Les poètes Zalokostas et Orphanidis', *RdDM*, 1 May 1860, 212–242.

About the author

Ourania Polycandrioti is Research Director at the Institute of Historical Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation and scientific supervisor of the research project 'Modern Greek Letters and History of Ideas, 18th–20th Centuries'. She is also attached researcher at Telemme/Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme (MMSH)/Aix-Marseille Université (AMU) and member of the Scientifc Council of the French School at Athens (2017–2020, 2020–2023). She has participated in numerous national and European projects, notably in collaboration with the MMSH/AMU and the French School at Athens. Her research interests and publications focus on literary history, cultural history, cultural transfers, history of ideas, and modern Greek literature. Her publications also focus on the perception and representation of (Mediterranean) space in literature, on travel literature, on issues of memory and on cultural identity. Email: ranpoly@eie.gr.

3. The emergence of modern Greek studies in late-nineteenth-century France and England: The yearbooks of the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (1867) and of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (1877)

Alexandros Katsigiannis

Abstract

Was the field of modern Greek studies perceived as an 'exotic' discipline in the making, or was it considered to be a branch of the already canonised Hellenic studies? This chapter examines two major associations that were established in the late nineteenth century in France and in England and dealt with the promotion of Greek studies: the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (1867) and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (1877). Their yearbooks constitute an unexamined treasure of information illuminating the reception of modern Greece and, at the same time, the construction of the modern Greek cultural identity by French and English Hellenists, from the mid-1860s onward.

Keywords: Modern Greek studies, Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, modern Greek literature, vernacular modern Greek, Byzantium

On a cold winter's day in Paris, Adamantios Korais (Adamance Coray) delivered a lecture about the current cultural state of Greece in front of distinguished French academics, who were also members of the Société des

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH03

Observateurs de l'Homme.[1] On this day (6 January 1803), the enlightened reformer projected his construction of a soon-to-be modern nation to a European audience, by accentuating the European identity of Greece, and especially by emphasising the ties of his country with France. Korais wanted to place modern Greece – or at least his notion of modern Greece – in the spotlight, instead of repeating neoclassicist commonplaces about ancient Greece. Korais's sense of Greece's cultural continuity was realised through his publication programme, 'The Greek Library',[2] and his essays on the modern Greek language. However, the reception of the 1821 Revolution and the romanticised classicism of the early nineteenth century in Europe (and then in Greece), couldn't give up the ghost of an idealised classical past, and of a Gibbonian sense of history.

In the years 1800 to 1840, European philhellenes searched for the ancient grandeur among the ruins of Greece. They insisted on seeking for glorious apparitions in the figures of the bedraggled people who resided on the fringes of Acropolis. From Lord Byron's renowned verse, 'Fair Greece! Sad relic of departed worth!,' to the exclamation of the French Hellenist, Jean-François Stiévenart, 'Hellas! c'était une illusion!,'[3] modern Greece was always compared to the ancient one. It would seem quite impossible for European scholars to delve into the uncharted waters of the earlier or contemporary modern Greek culture, without comparing it to ancient Greece. Even though the Great Powers were always eager to finance individuals or expeditions to travel to the region or make use of their well-established diplomatic corps there in order to gain knowledge of the newly founded state's affairs and activities, there had been no institutional concern in examining the modern Greek literary culture before the 1860s. Let's not forget that even the famous Morea expedition (1829–1838) was mainly focused on pointing out the depiction of the glorious past onto the present, and not on examining contemporary Greek culture.[4]

Therefore, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the discourse on modern Greek cultural identity had been articulated in a rather occasional and fragmentary manner. The teachings of Claude Fauriel, the observations of William Martin Leake or the works of the Hellenist Carl Iken were of great

1 Coray, *Mémoire*.

2 Through the 'Greek Library' Korais reintroduced classic texts of Plutarch, Isocrates and others to a modern Greek audience. The published texts were fully annotated and were framed by the famous prologues drafted by Korais, known also as 'Improvised Reflections on Greek Education and Language'.

3 Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 101, and Stiévenart, *Idée du théâtre de Ménandre*, 8.

4 See Saitas (ed.), *Το έργο της γαλλικής επιστημονικής αποστολής*.

significance, yet, they can be considered only as individual initiatives.[5] Still, the modern Greek vernacular literature and folk songs, considered as indicative depictions of modern Greek culture, gradually drew the attention of European and Greek scholars.

European power relations came under radical changes after the Crimean War (1853–1856), while in the 1850s Greece's culture arena was in turmoil. As the neo-Hellenist Panagiotis Moullas puts it:

> Since 1850, the pace was accelerated significantly, within an ambiance of constant and varied tensions. The intellectual events accumulated successively: publications of Greek folk songs, the diffusion of the long-lasting nineteenth-century periodical *Πανδώρα* [Pandora], poetical contests, the appearance of the notion of "Hellenochristianism", the endorsement of the theory of the three-dimensional unity of Hellenism, language arguments, romantic and archaistic momentum.[6]

In this framework, during the late 1850s scholars in Greece and Europe began working more intensively and in an organised way towards the study of the modern Greek language, the vernacular, and its literary depictions. The reasons for this shift can be traced to the cultural, institutional and political spectrums.

In the 1850s, a big part of Greek scholarship was largely influenced by the unbridled romantic waves of Europe, which in Goethe's Germany and in Michelet's France had overwhelmed intellectuals in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The discovery of the folk genius – the people conceived as a collective bard – through the proto-science of amateur folklore, had become a major means of examining and defining both the cultural and national identity of modern Greece.[7] The distinguished judge and public intellectual Georgios Tertsetis recalled in 1860 his days back in Paris (1834–1844), where he had met Jules Michelet: 'I attended a lecture of Michelet along with Eduard Grasse. […] The professor held Fauriel's collection in his hand, and also said that Fauriel didn't understand or even suspect the value of the song about Mount Olympus and Mount Kissavos.'[8] The time

5 Politis, *Κατάλοιπα Fauriel και Brunet De Presle*; Leake, *Researches in Greece*; Carl Iken, *Leukothea*.

6 Moullas, *Ρήξεις και συνέχειες*, 77.

7 For the formation of the folklore as a scientific field in nineteenth-century Greece, see Kyriakidou-Nestoros, *Η θεωρία της λαογραφίας* and Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More*.

8 "Ετυχα εις παράδοσιν του Μισελέ μαζί με τον Εδουάρδο Γρασσέ […]. Ο καθηγητής είχεν εις χείρας το βιβλίο της συλλογής του Φωριέλ και μάλιστα είπεν ότι ο Φωριέλ δεν εννόησε, δεν υποπτεύθη την αξία του τραγουδιού Ολύμπου και Κισσάβου' (Tertsetis, *Άπαντα* [Complete Works], 2, 248–249).

of the rediscovery of the demotic songs, along with the older vernacular modern Greek literature, had arrived.

Furthermore, Byzantium and its cultural heritage were constituted as a promising research field in the 1840s and 1850s, not only through the well-known essays of historians Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos and Spyridon Zambelios,[9] but also through the researches of German Hellenists, such as Christian August Brandis (1790–1867) and Adolf Ellissen (1815–1872).[10] More crucially, Byzantium was rediscovered and invented as the missing link between ancient and modern Greece. The argument for the continuity of the Greek language, through the use of demotic songs and Byzantine vernacular literature, had gained ground. Romantic historiography and folklore studies, with the latter being a discipline in the making, functioned as catalysts to the process of the autonomisation of modern Greek studies from the dominant field of the ancient Greek studies.

This paradigm shift, which expanded the research interests of Hellenists towards medieval and modern Greek literature, was also facilitated by an institutional factor. At the end of 1865, the University of Athens proclaimed the fourth Rodokanakis Competition, requesting essays about the history of Greek education, scholarship and intellect, from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the Greek Revolution of 1821. In the 'Introduction' of the winning essay, published under the title *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* [Modern Greek philology] (1868) by the historian Konstantinos Sathas (1842–1914), we read of the proclamation of the competition.[11] Historians were invited to shed light upon topics such as the history of Greek schools and institutions in Europe in the years 1453–1821, the biographies of Greek scholars and the history and current state of the Greek language.

This proclamation set the guidelines for the gradual historisation of modern Greek culture, the chronological limits of which were set loosely between the symbolic years of 1453 and 1821. The new generation of Hellenists should focus on the proclamation's requests, along with the discovery and the publication of older Greek texts. The acclaimed methodological tool of biography, providing a taxonomy of knowledge, was placed in the centre of the proclamation. Scholars' biographies and worklists were needed[12]; after all, Sathas's essay was nothing more than an extended catalogue of

9 See Koubourlis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές*.

10 Brandis, *Mittheilungen über Griechenland*, and Ellissen, *Versuch. Einer polyglotte der europäischen Poesie*.

11 Sathas, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, II.

12 About the historical genre of the biography and its impact in the nineteenth century, see Loriga, *Le Petit X*.

scholars' short biographies and worklists. Following 1865, in the framework of a gradual institutionalisation of the humanities, the field of modern Greek studies was consistently formulating into a discipline. The first history books of modern Greek literature were only a few years away.[13]

Another major factor that assisted the growth of the interest towards modern Greek culture was a second philhellenic wave that was triggered by the Cretan insurrection of 1866. The siege and burning of the Arkadi Monastery (November 1866) by the Ottomans, which ended with the self-sacrifice of about 700 Cretans by blowing up the gunpowder storage in the monastery, had a huge impact in the European political scene, while it was immediately imbibed by the folk culture. The Arkadi burning, and the Cretan revolt in general, awakened memories from the 1821 revolution, and the comparison of the two revolts was constant in the philhellenic articles in the European and American press, as well as in printed essays.[14] What made this insurrection such a newsworthy sensation, apart from its correlation with the 1821 Revolution, was the fact that the liberal powers of Europe and of the United States interpreted it as the beginning of the end of the Ottoman Empire, and the reopening of the Eastern Question.[15] A similar point of view was articulated in the circles of the French philhellenes and Hellenists at the same time.[16]

***

The establishment of the Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France in 1867 was a watershed moment in the cultural relations between France and Greece. The new association capitalised on the intellectual bonds already linking the two nations. An essay by the French Hellenist Gustave d'Eichthal (1804–1886) on the ten-year anniversary of the founding of the Association (1877) is indicative of the historical perspective of its members at that moment. The founding members, as d'Eichthal points out, felt themselves to be the heirs of the legacy of the École française d'Athènes (established in 1846), or even of Korais and

13 See Pappas *et al.*, *Εισαγωγή στη Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, 52–68.

14 In the Gennadius Library, for example, one can find a miscellaneous printed volume compiled by ambassador Ioannis Gennadios (John Gennadius) (1844–1932), which consists of fourteen essays about the Cretan insurrection, written by English, French and Greek politicians or scholars.

15 Cartwright, *The Insurrection in Candia*, and Marcoglou, *The American Interest in the Cretan Revolution*, 1866–69.

16 E.g. Beulé, 'L'île de Crète et la Question d'Orient'.

Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison.[17] After all, the Association's founding members were not only celebrated scholars and Hellenists during the 1860s, but had also established the foundations for the study of the modern Greek language and literature in France, by continuing the work of Fauriel and Korais.

Among the Association's founding members there were distinguished French Hellenists and scholars of two generations. The philhellene scholar and publisher Ambroise Firmin Didot (1790–1876), the Hellenists and professors Brunet de Presle (1809–1875), Émile Egger (1813–1885) and Charles Gidel (1827–1899),[18] the prominent law professor Félix D. Dehèque (1794–1870), the writer and academic Abel-François Villemain (1790–1870) and the archaeologist Georges Perrot (1832–1914), were some of the members who had submitted important essays concerning the still uncharted field of modern Greek language and literature. Let me just point out Villemain's early essay on modern Greece's cultural identity, which was published as a postface in his historic novel *Lascaris* and took up more than half of the edition.[19] The members of the Association were eager not only to promote Greek studies in general, since philological and archaeological discussions on ancient Greece were already thriving in France, Germany and England, but also to help with the development of modern Greek studies.

The Association's main instrument for achieving its goals and promoting its findings to the public had been its yearbook, the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, published for 20 years, from 1868 until 1887. From 1888 and forth, the *Annuaire* took the form of a review and was published four times a year; it had changed to the long-lived *Revue des études grecques*. The 21 volumes published between the years 1868 and 1887 are a true mirror of the Association's scientific and cultural pursuits. The essays published in the *Annuaire* followed, as expected, the tripartite structure of Greek history (ancient, Byzantine, modern), which was set in motion during the 1850s.

The Hellenist Jules Girard (1825–1902), addressing the readers in the preface of the first issue of the *Revue des études grecques*, summarised the achievements of the Association's *Annuaire*, which by then had come to its end after 20 years of constant and successful presence: 'De cette

17 D'Eichthal, 'Notice sur la fondation', 2.

18 On the French Hellenists in Paris, see Thomas, *Οι εν Παρισίοις Ελληνισταί*; Politis 'Από τον Φωριέλ στην Ιουλιέτα Λαμπέρ-Αδάμ' and Katsigiannis 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών στο *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* του Μαρίνου Παπαδόπουλου Βρετού'

19 Villemain, *Lascaris*, 145–402.

manière aussi nous accomplissions la mission que nous nous étions donnée. Des travaux sur l'antiquité grecque et byzantine, des études sur le grec moderne, des textes nouveaux ont été ainsi présentés à leur public.'[20] In the same preface, Girard theorised the usual narrative of modern Greece's cultural links with ancient Greece, which had characterised the discourse of European philhellenism.

> L'hellénisme, c'est la tradition pieuse et vivante du passé, c'est l'esprit de la Grèce antique conservé par l'intelligence de sa littérature et de ses arts, animant la Grèce moderne, lui faisant sa place dans le monde et rayonnant sur toutes les nations civilisées.[21]

But next to this typical perception of modern Greece, the *Annuaire*'s innovative disposition is conveyed by the abundance of essays that investigated modern Greek culture, while covering a period from the fifteenth century to contemporary Greece. Up to the 1860s, as we claimed before, the European scientific discourse that related to Greece was mainly associated with ancient Greece. However, the paradigm shift towards the study of modern Greece was quite obvious during the last years of the 1860s and it was eloquently depicted in the pages of the *Annuaire*.

In the twenty-one volumes of the *Annuaire*, 73 essays about early modern and modern Greek language, literature and history were published, next to essays that focused on ancient Greece.[22] At the same time, a few important essays about Byzantine culture had appeared, thus justifying the tripartition of Greece's historical narrative. After all, early modern Greek texts were treated at this time as part of the Byzantine literary production.[23] The *Annuaire*, seen as an expression of the Association's pursuits, had become, since its first issue, a welcoming forum for French and Greek Hellenists. It had become a communication channel, through which accumulated knowledge on modern Greek culture could be diffused.

The Association constituted a broad network of French and Greek scholars, professors and merchants, who worked with a sense of consistency and with a spirit of collaboration towards the promotion of modern Greek studies, and

20 Girard, 'À nos lecteurs', 2–3.

21 *Ibidem*, 3–4.

22 See Bibliography.

23 For example, in the second revised edition of the *History of Byzantine Literature* by the prominent Byzantinist Karl Krumbacher (1897), early modern literary works such as *Digenis Akritis*, *Erotokritos* or *Erofili* were co-examined in the still fluent framework of Byzantine literary history. On this framework, see Agapitos, 'Dangerous literary liaisons'.

not only of Hellenic studies. Apart from the celebrated French Hellenists and professors mentioned above, a new generation of researchers entered the scene. Émile Legrand's (1841–1903) first essays were published in the *Annuaire*, along with those of Konstantinos Sathas. In this sense, Legrand and Sathas can be considered neo-Hellenists rather than Hellenists.

Legrand's lack of classical education,[24] his philological competence, and at the same time his eagerness and passion towards the mapping of the uncharted world of modern Greek vernacular literature, forged him into the main contributor of modern Greek studies in France, after 1869. At the same time, Konstantinos Sathas, the winner of the Rodokanakis Competition, became the first Greek philologist and historian who was funded almost exclusively by the Greek state, in order to scour European libraries for modern Greek manuscripts.[25]

Legrand had formed an enterprising network of collaborators with Greek, French and German scholars all over Europe, in order to gather information from primary sources, concerning modern Greek language and literature.[26] Sathas was one of Legrand's most active collaborators, and through the latter, Sathas could integrate his work into French scholarship. The two neo-Hellenists were particularly productive through the pages of the *Annuaire*, by publishing original scientific papers on medieval and modern Greek literature and scholarship. Sathas, also, received two encouraging reviews on his published works: *Ανέκδοτα Ελληνικά* [Unpublished Greek texts, 1867], by Professor Charles Gidel, and the first four volumes of his *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* [Medieval library, 1872–1874], by the Hellenist Charles-Émile Ruelle.[27]

The flourishing of early modern and modern Greek studies in the network of French Hellenists during the years from 1866 to 1875 is evident not only in the pages of the *Annuaire*, but also in other periodicals, as well as in published books.[28] In 1865, Brunet de Presle published his eulogy of the distinguished Hellenist Karl Benedict Hase (1780–1864). D'Eichthal considered

24 Ditsa, 'Οι νεοελληνικές σπουδές στη Γαλλία τον 19ο αιώνα'. On Legrand's life and work, see Pernot, 'Notice sur la vie et les œuvres d'Émile Legrand', and Ditsa, *La contribution d'Émile Legrand aux études néo-helléniques*.

25 On the opposition of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos towards the funding of Sathas's researches, see Dimaras, *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος*, 403.

26 Papakostas, *O Émile Legrand*; Katsigiannis and Antonopoulos, 'Ο Émile Legrand και η ερευνητική αποστολή του στην Ελλάδα το 1875'; Mitsou, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών'.

27 See Bibliography.

28 See Gidel, 'Bibliographie', where he reviews the first volumes of Legrand's *Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique* (1869–1871).

this essay to be 'a summary of the Greek, and especially the modern Greek, culture'.[29] The self-awareness of the French Hellenists who were becoming neo-Hellenists is obvious. For example, in 1866, Gidel published his work *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne*,[30] which reinforced the interest in early modern Greek literary studies in France. Three years later, Legrand started publishing texts of older vernacular Greek literature in his series *Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique*. This series was the first organised publishing programme concerning modern Greek literature and scholarship. One of his prominent editions, *Σαχλήκη Ερμηνείαι. Conseils à Franceschi*,[31] the poem of the Cretan-Venetian lawyer Stefanos Sachlikis, appeared in print for the first time in the *Collection*, and at the same time, it was published in whole in the third volume of the *Annuaire* (1871). Evidently, the previous generation of French Hellenists elaborated on and promoted the works of the younger French and Greek neo-Hellenists, and the *Annuaire* was an ideal medium for the diffusion of this network's findings.

***

The Association's network penetrated deep into the contemporary Greek cultural and social strata, since eminent Greek merchants in Marseilles, Constantinople, London, Zante and Taganrog helped with the funding of the Association's pursuits.[32] Constantin Mélas, a member of the Mélas Frères commercial house in Marseilles, appears to be in the list of the founding members of the Association.[33] Another renowned patron of Greek letters, Christakis Zografos (1820–1896), who worked as a banker in Paris and Constantinople, donated a large amount of money to the Association, and especially to the publication of the *Annuaire*.[34] The ties of the French Hellenists with the Greek scholars and merchants in Europe and Constantinople were strong. Let's note that Brunet de Presle and Hase were honourable members of the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople since 1863.[35]

29 Brunet de Presle, 'M. Hase et les savants grecs', and d'Eichthal, 'Notice', 7.

30 Gidel, *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne*, followed by *Nouvelles études sur la littérature grecque moderne*.

31 Legrand, *Γραφαί και στίχοι*.

32 Girard, 'À nos lecteurs', 2.

33 [Anonymous], 'Membres fondateurs (1867)', x. On the Mélas family, see Blancard, *La famille Mélas*.

34 Girard, 'À nos lecteurs', 2–3.

35 See Giannakopoulos, *Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος*, 56.

Therefore, it doesn't come as a surprise that the eight-year anniversary speech of the president of the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople was published, in the second volume of the *Annuaire* (1870), both in Greek and in French translation.

The editors of the *Annuaire*, being eminent and cosmopolitan members of the Association, sought essays that dealt with the current intellectual, political and social state of Greece. The French scholar, writer and collector Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (1837–1889)[36] had been intensively publishing in the *Annuaire* essays or primary material concerning two of the best-known Greek scholars of the nineteenth century in France: Adamantios Korais and Iakovos Rizos Neroulos. M. de Saint-Hilaire had developed a special interest in these two famous cultural mediators, and the *Annuaire* was the ideal forum to inform the French readership about them. After all, Korais in particular was considered to be a mentor by many French Hellenists and professors who were founders of the Association, such as Brunet de Presle or Villemain.

Contemporary Greek poetry was also an important topic studied in the *Annuaire*. The annual poetry contests in Athens had been, for example, prominent events since the 1850s, and they had led to a quantitative rise in poetic production in Greece.[37] The annual Zografos poetry contest, sponsored by one of the patrons of the Association, Christakis Zografos, was extensively covered in the *Annuaire* in the years 1870 and 1871. In the 1870 volume, two poems by Aristotelis Valaoritis were presented and discussed. At the time, Valaoritis was a contender for the title of Greece's 'national poet', and a major intellectual figure in both Athens and the Ionian Islands,[38] which had joined the Greek state in 1864. The symbolic capital of the notion of the 'national poet' was dominant in the discourse of a newly founded state that was searching for its cultural identity.[39] In this framework, M. de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, probably the most active French Hellenist in the *Annuaire*, published an extensive study in 1874 on another contender for the title of Greece's 'national poet', Alexandros Soutsos (1803–1863), on the ten-year anniversary of the poet's death.

One of the most significant and influential cultural mediators between Greece and Europe during the years 1870–1900, especially in the framework of the Association, was the scholar, writer and merchant Dimitrios Bikelas

36 Bikélas, 'Notice sur le M[is] de Queux de Saint-Hilaire'.

37 Moullas, *Les concours poétiques*.

38 Papatheodorou, *Ρομαντικά Πεπρωμένα*.

39 See, e.g., Politis, 'Εθνικοί ποιητές'.

(Bikélas) (1835–1908).[40] He resided mostly in London and in Paris, and was a partner of the Mélas Frères commercial house. Apart from his own literary works and his translations, Bikelas was an active member of the Legrand-Sathas network, and corresponded with Hellenists such as Emmanuel Miller and Wilhelm Wagner.[41] He had also collaborated with the well-known author and feminist Juliette Adam (Lamber, 1836–1936) on a history of contemporary Greek poetry.[42] Bikelas's in-depth knowledge of the history of modern Greek literature,[43] his vast correspondence network in Europe, as well as his ties with the Greek and European press, made him the ideal mediator between the Greek and European Hellenists. His five essays published in the *Annuaire* cover mostly contemporary matters. In particular, his essay 'État de la presse périodique en Grèce' (1883), concerning the blooming of the periodical and the daily press in Greece, Constantinople and Smyrna during the years 1871–1883, was the most informed study at the time.

***

In 1881, Bikelas informed the French readers of the *Annuaire* about the establishment of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in London in 1879, of which he was also a member.[44] This scholarly organisation (also known as the Hellenic Society) still exists today, more than 140 years later. Among its founding members were the diplomat and man of letters Ioannis Gennadios, the writer and scholar Henry Fanshawe Tozer (1829–1916), the Greek author and politician Alexandros Rizos Rangavis, and even Oscar Wilde. The goals of the Society were outlined in the first volume of its yearbook, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (hereafter *JHS*):

1. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.
2. To collect drawings, fac-similes, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains,

40 His name appears as 'Bikélas' in the *Annuaire*. See Bibliography.

41 On Bikelas's life, work, and vast network of correspondence, see Oikonomou, *Τρεις άνθρωποι*, vol. 2, and Provata, 'Η συμβολή του Δημητρίου Βικέλα'.

42 Lamber, *Poètes grecs contemporains*. On Adam [Lamber]'s activities, see Provata, Chapter 4 in this volume.

43 E.g. Bikelas, *Περί Νεοελληνικής φιλολογίας*.

44 See Bibliography.

and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

3. To organize means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries, which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.[45]

Although, the familiar tripartite historical structure is presented as the main linchpin of the Society's approach towards Greek culture, the essays published in its pages between the 1880 and 1900 demonstrate a different viewpoint. The Society's gaze is fixed on the ancient Greek past. Even though the English society was established after the model of the French association, there were two substantial differences between the two organisations. Firstly, the motivation of the English society's founding was not intently a political one,[46] and secondly the *JHS* had a strictly academic purpose, since the majority of the essays focused mainly on archaeological issues or on classical studies. In the journal's philhellenic discourse, the ancient Greek past cast a heavy shadow over the freshly created field of modern Greek studies.

In the period 1880–1900, only a handful of articles published in the *JHS* did not concern ancient Greece. Most of them belong to the writer, scholar and traveller H.F. Tozer who focused on the Byzantine era. The Greek Middle Ages was a new field of research at the time, as mentioned above, with the German scholarship leading the way in the end of the nineteenth century and promoting the autonomy of Byzantine studies.[47] English scholarship's occupation with modern Greek studies in the years from 1870 to 1900 was not articulated through the *JHS*, which aimed, almost exclusively, towards the empowerment and the renewal of archaeological and classical studies.

The scholars of the Victorian era engaged, in an uncoordinated way, with the study of modern Greek literature and philology through three courses of action: books that dealt mostly with the learning of the Greek language, short or extensive essays on the history of modern Greek literature, and, finally, the translation of contemporary Greek literature. The cases of the Unitarian scholar Edmund Martin Geldart (1844–1885) and of the writer and translator Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds (1823–1907) respond to the

45 [Anonymous], 'Rules of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies'.

46 Christopoulou, *Ιωάννης Γεννάδιος*, 204–205.

47 Mitsou, 'Networks of (neo) Hellenists', 313-325.

above ascertainment.[48] None of these efforts are imprinted in the pages of the *JHS*, with some minor exceptions, in the years 1880–1900.

***

The two associations in France and England were the fruits of a second wave of philhellenism, which was articulated in several levels, from the 1860s on. Concerning the formation of the discourses about the field of modern Greek studies, France enjoyed primacy over England due to its Hellenists and scholars who had had been engaged in studying modern Greek culture since the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the networks woven around Korais and Neroulos in the first decades of the nineteenth century, and around Legrand, Sathas and Bikelas, from the 1870s on, were extremely influential and productive in the early stages of the establishment of modern Greek studies in Europe. Members of later networks manifested a solid sense of self-consciousness concerning the tradition of modern Greek studies since the 1830s, as well as the research and the teaching they performed at the time. It suffices to read the essay of Brunet de Presle on Hase,[49] the eulogy of Saint-Hilaire on Brunet de Presle (1875),[50] and the eulogy of Bikelas on Egger.[51]

In short, three main approaches to modern Greek studies can be derived from the essays published in the *Annuaire*:

1. Essays on the early modern Greek literature and language, with an emphasis on vernacular texts from the Byzantine era until the seventeenth century, including publications of archival material and book reviews.
2. Essays on contemporary Greek scholarship and literature (1830–1880).
3. Essays on the current political, social and cultural condition in Greece (1860–1880).

On the other hand, the *JHS* focused on classical studies, with the exception of occasional essays on Byzantium and on the Frankish and Latin states in Greece, formed after the Fourth Crusade. Modern Greek studies in England were extremely fragmentary during the years 1830 to 1880, while they lacked

48 Gotsi, 'Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds'; Gotsi, 'Letters from E.M. Edmonds to Nikolaos G. Politis'; Katsigiannis, 'Με αφορμή μερικούς αγγλικούς στίχους της *Ερωφίλης*'.

49 Brunet de Presle, 'M. Hase et les savants grecs émigrés à Paris'.

50 See Bibliography.

51 Bikelas, 'Αιμίλιος Έγγερος'.

any supportive institution or any respective influential network between scholars or men of letters.[52] On the contrary, during the Victorian Age in Britain, enthusiasm about classical Greece was massive and was articulated in many different forms, both institutional (archaeological surveys) and private (collecting antiquities).[53]

To conclude, the *Annuaire* is an indicative example of the dynamics that evolved between the intelligentsia of Europe and Greece, in the framework of the rise of modern Greek language and culture as a separate field of study. The shaping of this field was based on the designation of early and contemporary modern Greek cultural history, with a sense of autonomisation from classical studies. The epistemological scope of the French and Greek scholars, concerning modern Greek cultural identity, was projected to the European readership through the *Annuaire*, as well as through other French periodicals at the same time.[54] It is within this framework of cultural mobility that the formation of modern Greek studies as a discipline, as well as the first historiographic approaches of modern Greek philology and literature, should be examined.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Articles concerning modern Greek studies published in the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* (1868–1887):

1869:
Ém. Egger, 'Les Estienne, hellénistes et imprimeurs de grec au XVI[e] siècle', 1–21.
Ch. Gidel, '*Ανέκδοτα Ελληνικά*, par M. Constantin Sathas, 2 vols., Athènes, 1867', 96–113.

1870:
E. Talbot, 'Rapport de la commission sur les ouvrages proposes pour le prix Zographos', 1–9.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Notice sur les *Κοραχιστικά* de Rizos Néroulos', 67–94.
Gustave d'Eichthal, 'Observations sur la réforme progressive et sur l'état actuel de la langue grecque', 105–149.

52 See, e.g., Angelomati-Tsoungaraki, 'Οι αντιλήψεις των ξένων για τον Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό'.
53 E.g., Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*.
54 See Athini, Chapter 1 in this volume.

Hiraclis Basiadis, 'Discours du président de la Société littéraire hellénique de Constantinople (texte et traduction)', 150–183.
Ad. de Circourt, 'Notice sur *Athanase Diakos* et *Astrapoghiannos*, poèmes de M. Aristotelis Valaoritis', 184–188.

1871:
Albert Dumont, 'Rapport de la commission du prix Zographos', 1–16.
J.-H.-A. Ubicini, '*Chronique du règne de Mahomet II*, par Critobule d'Imbros', 49–74.
Ch. Gidel, 'Étude sur une *Apocalypse de la vierge Marie*', 99–113.
Carle Wescher, 'Note relative au dialecte de l'île d'Andros', 137–146.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'La presse dans la Grèce moderne, depuis l'indépendance jusqu'en 1871', 147–179.
Ém. Legrand, 'Littérature néo-hellénique – *Conseils à Franceschi*, par Sakhlikis', 201–242.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, '*Adieux à l'Italie* de Rizos Néroulos, publiés avec une préface', 243–250.

1872:
Henri Weil, 'Observations critiques sur une Apocalypse de la vierge Marie', 26–27.
Emm. Miller, 'Description d'une chasse à l'once, par un écrivain byzantin du XII^{e} siècle de notre ère', 28–52.
Ch. Gidel, '*Histoire de Ptocholéon*, étude sur un texte grec inédit', 53–81.
Ém. Legrand, 'Notes sur l'*Histoire de Ptocholéon*', 82–102.
Ém. Legrand, 'Lettres de Constantin Stamaty à Codrika sur la Révolution française – Janvier 1793', 103–166.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Un essai de théâtre national dans la Grèce moderne', 204–216.

1873:
Paul Decharme, 'Extrait d'un lexique manuscrit latin-grec et grec moderne', 100–113.
C. Wyndham, 'Note sur le texte publié par Emm. Miller, p. 47 et suivantes de l'Annuaire de 1872', 133–134.
Emm. Miller, 'Préface d'un auteur byzantin', 135–157.
Ch.-Ém. Ruelle, 'Deux morceaux inédites de George Pachymère', 158–187.
Ch. Gidel, 'Étude sur un poème grec inédite, intitulé Ο Φυσιολόγος, suivie du text grec, édité par Émile Legrand', 188-296.
Brunet de Presle, 'Lettres autographes inédites de Coray à Chardon de la Rochette', 296–329.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Des traductions et des imitations en grec moderne', 330–357.

1874:

Ch.-Ém. Ruelle, 'Traduction de quelques textes grecs inédits recueillis à Madrid et à l'Escurial', 122–149.

Ch. Gidel, Émile Legrand, '*Les Oracles de l'empereur Léon le Sage*, expliqués et interprétés en grec vulgaire au XII^{e} siècle, et publiés pour la première fois', 150–192.

Constantin Sathas, 'Deux lettres inédites de l'empereur Michel Ducas Parapinace à Robert Guiscard, rédigées par Michel Psellus et publiées avec traduction française', 193–221.

Emm. Miller, 'Lexiques grecs inédits (texte)', 222–284.

Ém. Legrand, '*La bataille de Varna*, par Paraspondylos Zoticos, témoin oculaire, poème grec publié pour la première fois', 333–372.

G. Perrot, 'Quelques croyances et superstitions populaires des Grecs modernes. Notes recueillies en Grèce', 373–404.

Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Alexandre Soutzos, le poète national de la Grèce moderne; sa vie et ses œuvres', 405–440.

Albert Dumont, 'Les Syllogues en Turquie', 527–538.

1875:

Emm. Miller, 'Poème moral de Constantin Manassès', 23–75.

D. Bikélas, 'Sur une traduction néo-hellénique du *Prométhée* et sur la métrique contemporaine', 97–105.

[Ch. Wyndham, D. Bernardos], 'Poésies inédites de Jakovaky Rizos Néroulos', 252–265.

Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'M. Brunet de Presle', 342–372.

Ch.-Ém. Ruelle, '*Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, de M. Sathas', 391–394.

1876:

Ém. Legrand, 'Chansons populaires grecques, publiées, avec une traduction française', 1–69.

M. Pappadopoulos, and Emm. Miller, 'Notice et collation d'un manuscrit grec de la bibliothèque de Smyrne, contenant des lexiques grecs', 121–136.

Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Poèsies inédites de Rizos Néroulos. 2^{e} et dernière partie', 194–224.

Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Notice sur les services rendus à la Grèce et aux études grecques, par Ambroise Firmin-Didot', 225–259.

École française d'Athènes, 'Institut de correspondance hellénique – Allocution de M. Albert Dumont, directeur de l'École, relative à la fondation de cet Institut', 277–284.

1877:
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Nouvelles lettres française inédites de Coray, adressées à M. P. Prévost de Genève', 189–218.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Des Syllogues grecs et du progrès des études littéraires dans la Grèce de nos jours', 286–322.

1878:
Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, 'Texte d'un conte populaire grec recueilli en Achaïe et publié pour la première fois', 118–123.
D. Bikélas, 'Sur la nomenclature de la faune grecque', 208–237.

1879:
M. Riemann, 'Une lettre d'un Grec du XV^e^ siècle', 121–125.
Constantin Sathas, 'Le Roman d'Achille', 126–175.
Ém. Legrand, 'Le chanson de maître Jean, poème en dialecte crétois', 200–229.
Ch.-Ém. Ruelle, 'Quarante-deux chapitres inédits et complémentaires du recueil de Michel Psellus, intitule *Διδασκαλία παντοδαπή*, ou *Notions variées*', 230–278.

1880:
Constantin Sathas, 'Nicéphore Grégoras, éloge de la ville d'Héraclée du Pont, d'après Memnon, etc.; texte inédit', 217–224.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Notice sur Léon Mélas', 321–324.

1881:
Étienne Vlastos, 'La prise de Constantinople par les Turcs, en 1453', 104–128.
Ch.-Ém. Ruelle, 'Un nouveau manuscrit de Théophile Corydalleus (commentaire sur le *Traité de l'âme*, d'Aristote)', 192–194.
D. Bikélas, 'Quelques mots sur les études grecques en Angleterre', 195–198.

1882:
Constantin Sathas, 'La tradition hellénique et la légende de Phidias, de Praxitèle et de la fille d'Hippocrate au Moyen Âge', 122–149.
D. Bikélas, 'A propos d'un journal d'enfants en grec', 252–259.

1883:
Emm. Miller, 'Poésies inédites de Théodore Prodrome', 18–64.
D. Bikélas, 'État de la presse périodique en Grèce (1883)', 80–104.
Alfred Mézières, 'Fragment d'un voyage en Grèce en 1850', 222–236.
Ch. Gidel, 'De l'étude du grec au commencement du XVII^e^ siècle (1628) dans les classes du collège de Clermont', 237–260.

1884:
Victor Serres, 'Journal de la première expédition de la flotte grecque (avril–mai 1821), texte grec inédit publié avec une traduction française et des notes', 256–292.

1885:
Jean Psichari, 'Essai de grammaire historique néo-grecque', 1–288.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Notice sur M. Émile Egger', 289–344.

1886:
Alfred Mézières, 'Voyage dans le Péloponnèse (1850). Deuxième partie: Cynurie, Laconie, Messénie', 1–62.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Lettre inédite de Coray à Chardon de la Rochette', 77–82.
Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, 'Lettre inédite de Coray à Koumas', 83–87.
Paul Tannery, 'Le traité de Manuel Moschopoulos sur les carrés magiques, texte grec et traduction', 88–120.
H. Omont, 'Catalogue de manuscrits grecs copies à Paris au XVI^{e} siècle par Constantine Palæocappa', 241–279.

1887:
Paul Tannery, 'Théodore Prodrome – Sur le Grand et le Petit (à Italicos). Texte inédit et notice', 104–119.

Articles concerning modern Greek studies, published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1880–1900):

1880:
W.M. Ramsay, 'A romaic ballad', 293–300.
I. Bywater, 'A bio-bibliographical note on Coray', 305–307.
H.F. Tozer, 'Medieval Rhodian love-poems', 308–313.

1881:
H.F. Tozer, 'Byzantine satire', 233–270.

1882:
W.M. Ramsay, 'The tale of Saint Abercius', 339–353.
H.F. Tozer, 'Vitylo and Cargese', 354–360.

1883:
Charles Waldstein, 'Views of Athens in the year 1687', 86–89.
H.F. Tozer, 'The Franks in the Peloponnese', 165–236.

1886:
John B. Bury, 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboia (1205–1303)', 309–352.
H.F. Tozer, 'A Byzantine reformer', 353–380.

1887:
John B. Bury, 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboia (continued)', 194–213.

1888:
John B. Bury, 'The Lombards and Venetians in Euboia (continued)', 91–117.

1889:
Florence McPherson, 'Historical notes on certain modern Greek folk-songs', 86–89.

Secondary sources and reference works

Agapitos, Panagiotis A., 'Dangerous literary liaisons: Byzantium and neohellenism', *Βυζαντινά* [Byzantina], 35 (2017), 33–126.

[Anonymous], 'Membres fondateurs (1867)', *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 5 (1871), x–xi.

[Anonymous], 'Rules of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), ix–xiv.

Angelomati-Tsoungaraki, Eleni, 'Οι αντιλήψεις των ξένων για τον Νεοελληνικό Διαφωτισμό' [The views of foreigners about the modern Greek Enlightenment], *Ο Ερανιστής* [The Gleaner], 21 (1997), 225–247.

Beulé, Charles Ernest, 'L'île de Crète et la Question d'Orient', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 77 (1867), 257–273.

Bikelas, Dimitrios, *Περί Νεοελληνικής φιλολογίας: Δοκίμιον αναγνωσθέν εν τη Ελληνική Σχολή του Λονδίνου κατά την Εσπερινήν Συνδιατριβήν της 21ης Μαρτίου 1871* [On modern Greek philology: Essay read at the Greek School of London during the evening session of the 21st of March 1871] (London 1871).

—, 'Αιμίλιος Έγγερος' [Émile Egger], *Εστία* [Hestia], 506, 8 September 1885, 621–623.

—, *Notice sur le M^is^ de Queux de Saint-Hilaire* (Paris, 1890) [offprint from the *Revue des études grecques* (January–March 1890), 1–31].

Blancard, Jules, *La famille Mélas* (Saint-Quentin, 1885).

Brandis, Christian August, *Mittheilungen über Griechenland*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1842).

Brunet de Presle, Wladimir, 'M. Hase et les savants grecs émigrés à Paris sous l'Empire et sous la Restauration', *Revue des cours littéraires* (1864–1865), 317–326.

Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: A Romaunt* (London, 1812).

Cartwright, Joseph, *The Insurrection in Candia and the Public Press* (London, 1866).

Christopoulou, Marianna D., *Ο Ιωάννης Γεννάδιος και η διαμόρφωση της εθνικής πολιτικής της Ελλάδας (1871–1918)* [Ioannis Gennadius and the formation of the Greek national policy (1871–1918)], PhD dissertation (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2012).

Dimaras, K. Th., *Κωνσταντίνος Παπαρρηγόπουλος. Η εποχή του, η ζωή του, το έργο του* [Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos: His times, his life, his work] (Athens: National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation, ²2006).

D'Eichthal, Gustave, 'Notice sur la fondation et le développement de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France', *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 11 (1877), 1–70.

Ditsa, Marianna, *La contribution d'Émile Legrand aux études néo-helléniques*, PhD dissertation (Paris: Sorbonne, 1974).

—, 'Οι νεοελληνικές σπουδές στη Γαλλία τον 19ο αιώνα (σύντομη εξιστόρηση)' ['Modern Greek studies in nineteenth-century France (A brief account)'], *Ο Πολίτης* [The Citizen], 9 (February 1977), 53–60.

Ellissen, Adolf, *Versuch. Einer polyglotte der europäischen Poesie* (Leipzig, 1846).

Giannakopoulos, Giorgos A., *Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1861–1922): Η ελληνική παιδεία και επιστήμη ως εθνική πολιτική στην Οθωμανική αυτοκρατορία* [The Greek Philological Association of Constantinople (1861–1922): Greek education and science as national politics in the Ottoman Empire], PhD dissertation (Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 1998).

Gidel, Charles, *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866).

—, 'Bibliographie', *Revue Archéologique*, 22 (1870–1871), 183–191.

—, *Nouvelles études sur la littérature grecque moderne* (Paris: Maisonneuve & C^ie^, 1878).

Girard, Jules, 'À nos lecteurs', *Revue des études grecques*, 1 (1888), 1–5.

Gotsi, Georgia, 'Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds: Η ελληνική πεζογραφία στην αγγλική μεταφραστική σκηνή' ['Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds: Greek prose fiction in the English translation scene'], *Σύγκριση/Comparaison/Comparison*, 25 (2015), 23–60.

—, 'Letters from E.M. Edmonds to Nikolaos G. Politis', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 41 (2017), 254–277.

Herzfeld, Michael, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982).

Iken, Carl (ed.), *Leukothea. Eine Sammlung von Briefen eines geborenen Griechen über Staatswesen, Literatur und Dichtkunst des neueren Griechenlands*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1825).

Jenkyns, Richard, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

Katsigiannis, Alexandros, and Antonopoulos Panagiotis, 'Ο Émile Legrand και η ερευνητική αποστολή του στην Ελλάδα το 1875' [Émile Legrand's scientific expedition in Greece in 1875], *Κρητικά Χρονικά* [Cretan chronicles], 33 (2013), 155–190.

Katsigiannis, Alexandros, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών στο *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* του Μαρίνου Παπαδόπουλου Βρετού (1863–1871). Μια υπόθεση εργασίας' [The presence of French Hellenists in Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos's National Almanac: A research hypothesis], in the Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium *Μετάφραση και περιοδικός τύπος τον 19ο αιώνα* [Translation and the periodical press in the nineteenth century], ed. by Anna Tabaki and Alexia Altouva (Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens/NHRF, 2016), 135–144.

—, 'Με αφορμή μερικούς αγγλικούς στίχους της *Ερωφίλης* του 1870: ο E.M. Geldart και η μελέτη του *The Modern Greek Language and Its Relation to Ancient Greek*' [On the occasion of some English verses of *Erofili* in 1870: E.M. Geldart and his study *The Modern Greek Language and Its Relation to Ancient Greek*], in *Proceedings of the 12th International Congress of Cretan Studies* (2016), 1–16.

Coray, *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (Paris: F. Didot, 1803).

Koubourlis, Giannis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές των Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου και Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλου. Η συμβολή Ελλήνων και ξένων λογίων στη διαμόρφωση του τρίσημου σχήματος του ελληνικού ιστορισμού (1782–1846)* [The historiographical debts of Sp. Zambelios and K. Paparrigopoulos: The contribution of Greek and foreign scholars in the formulation of the triadic schema of Greek historicism (1782–1846)] (Athens: NHRF, 2012).

Krumbacher, Karl, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2nd rev. ed. (Munich: Oskar Beck, 1897).

Kyriakidou-Nestoros, Alki, *Η θεωρία της λαογραφίας. Κριτική ανάλυση* [The theory of folklore: Critical analysis] (Athens: Idryma Moraiti, 62006).

Lamber, Juliette, *Poètes grecs contemporains* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1881).

Leake, William Martin, *Researches in Greece* (London, 1814).

Legrand, Émile, *Γραφαί και στίχοι και ερμηνείαι Στεφάνου του Σαχλήκη* [Writings and verses of Stefanos Sachlikis] (Paris: Maisonneuve & Cie, 1871).

Loriga, Sabina, *Le Petit X. De la biographie à l'histoire* (Paris: Seuil, 2010).

Marcoglou, Emm. E., *The American Interest in the Cretan Revolution, 1866–69* (Athens: National Centre of Social Research, 1971).

Mitsou, Marilisa, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών και πολιτισμικές μεταφορές στα τέλη του 19ου αι. (Karl Krumbacher, Émile Legrand, Ν.Γ. Πολίτης)' [Networks of (neo-) Hellenists

and cultural transfers at the end of the nineteenth century (Karl Krumbacher, Émile Legrand, N.G. Politis)], in *'... ως αθύρματα παίδας': Eine Festschrift für Hans Eideneier*, ed. by Ulrich Moennig (Berlin: Edition Romiosini/CeMog, 2016), 313–325.

Moullas, Panagiotis, *Les concours poétiques de l'Université d'Athènes 1851–1877* (Athens, 1989).

—, *Ρήξεις και συνέχειες* [Ruptures and continuities] (Athens: Sokolis, 1993).

Oikonomou, Alexandros Ar., *Τρεις άνθρωποι,* vol. 2*, Δημήτριος Μ. Βικέλας* [Three people, vol. 2, Dimitrios M. Bikelas] (Athens: Association for the Dissemination of Incendiary Books, 2008).

Papakostas, Giannis, *Ο Émile Legrand και η* Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία*. Αρχειακή μελέτη* [Émile Legrand and the *Bibliographie Hellénique*: Archival study] (Athens: Kostas and Eleni Ourani Foundation, 2011).

Papatheodorou, Giannis, *Ρομαντικά Πεπρωμένα. Ο Αριστοτέλης Βαλαωρίτης ως 'εθνικός ποιητής'* [Romantic destinies: Aristotelis Valaoritis as a 'national poet'] (Athens: Vivliorama, 2009).

Pappas, Philippos, Alexandros Katsigiannis, and Lilia Diamantopoulou, *Εισαγωγή στη Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* [Introduction to modern Greek literary studies] (Greek Academic Digital Books, 2015). [http://hdl.handle.net/11419/6432] (29 November 2020).

Pernot, Hubert, 'Notice sur la vie et les œuvres d'Émile Legrand', in *Bibliographie Hellénique, XV-XVI*, 4 (Paris, 1906), vii–xliii.

Politis, Alexis, 'Από τον Φωριέλ στην Ιουλιέτα Λαμπέρ-Αδάμ: Η παρουσία της ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στα γαλλικά γράμματα' [From Fauriel to Juliette Lamber-Adam. The presence of Greek literature in French culture], in Actes du Colloque *La France et la Grèce au XIX^{e} siècle*, ed. by Evangelos Chryssos (Athens: Hellenic Parliament Foundation, 2012), 143–166.

—, 'Εθνικοί ποιητές' [National poets], in *Αθέατες όψεις της ιστορίας. Κείμενα αφιερωμένα στον Γιάνη Γιανουλόπουλο* [History's invisible aspects: Texts for Gianis Gianoulopoulos], ed. by Despoina I. Papadimitriou and Serapheim I. Seferiadis (Athens: Asini, 2012), 227–244.

—, *Κατάλοιπα Fauriel και Brunet de Presle. Αναλυτικός κατάλογος* [Holdovers of Fauriel and Brunet de Presle: Analytical catalogue] (Athens: NHRF, 1980).

Provata, Despina, 'Η συμβολή του Δημητρίου Βικέλα στις διαπολιτισμικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας-Γαλλίας' [The contribution of Dimitrios Bikelas to the intercultural relations between Greece and France], *Η Μελέτη* [The Study], 5 (2010), 429–460.

Saitas, Giannis (ed.), *Το έργο της γαλλικής επιστημονικής αποστολής του Μοριά 1829–1838* [The works of the French scientific expedition in Moreas, 1829–1838] (Athens: Melissa 2017).

Sathas, Konstantinos, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία* [Modern Greek philology] (Athens, 1868).

Stiévenart, Jean-François, *Idée du théâtre de Ménandre et de la société athénienne* (Dijon: Loireau-Feuchot, 1854).

Tertsetis, Georgios, *Άπαντα* [Complete works], 2 vols., ed. by Giorgos Valetas (Athens: Giovanis, 1967).

Thomas, Eleytherios, *Οι εν Παρισίοις Ελληνισταί και ο Βρουνέ Δε Πρέλ* (*Brunet de Presle*) [The Hellenists in Paris and Brunet de Presle] (Syros, 1876).

Villemain, A.F., *Lascaris, ou les Grecs du quinzième siècle suivi d'un essai historique sur l'état des Grecs depuis la conquête musulmane* (Paris, 1825).

About the author

Alexandros Katsigiannis is Assistant Professor of Modern Greek Literature at the University of Crete. His research interests and publications focus on the reception of early modern Greek literature, the literature of the Greek eighteenth century, literary history and digital humanities. He has participated in numerous research programmes (the Digital Archive of C.P. Cavafy at the Onassis Foundation, NSRF programmes on modern Greek studies), and he has published and edited the bestseller pastoral poem of the modern Greek Enlightenment, *Κωνσταντίνος Μάνος, Τα κατά Κλεάνθην και Αβροκόμην. Πόνημα Ποιμενικόν* (*1801*) (Athens: Bibliorama 2020), with an extensive introduction. He is the author of the academic e-book *Εισαγωγή στη νεοελληνική φιλολογία* (2015, in collaboration with Philippos Pappas and Lilia Diamantopoulou) and of the book *Από το λαϊκό ανάγνωσμα στην εθνική φιλολογία: Η Κρητική λογοτεχνία της Αναγέννησης στον μακρύ 19ο αιώνα* (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2021). Email: alexanderkatsigiannis@gmail.com.

4. La Grèce moderne dans la *Nouvelle Revue* (1879-1899)

Despina Provata

Résumé
Juliette Adam (1836–1936), célèbre salonnière de la III[e] République, est aussi la fondatrice de la *Nouvelle Revue*. Fascinée par l'Antiquité grecque, elle se penche également sur le destin de la Grèce moderne à un moment où le pays est discrédité aux yeux des Européens. La présente contribution se focalise sur le regard que porte la *Nouvelle Revue* sur la Grèce moderne. L'objectif de ses collaborateurs ainsi que de sa directrice est, d'une part, de soutenir les revendications irrédentistes des Grecs et ressusciter un philhellénisme politique, d'autre part de promouvoir la littérature néohellénique en France et de cultiver une nouvelle image de la Grèce, un pays résolument moderne qui peut désormais réclamer son autonomie par rapport à l'Antiquité.

Mots-clés: Grèce moderne, grec moderne, littérature néo-hellénique, philhellénisme politique, médiateurs, *Nouvelle Revue*

Si pour son correspondant grec Constantin Katsimbalis, Juliette Adam (1836–1936) est 'la nouvelle Aspasie',[1] elle est surtout connue à l'étranger comme la 'Grande française'.[2] Figure emblématique de la République et féministe engagée, confidente de Léon Gambetta et amie intime de George Sand, Juliette Adam, née Lambert,[3] couvre, grâce à son exceptionnelle

1 'L'hellénisme entier aime voir en vous une nouvelle Aspasie', Lettre de Constantin G. Katsimbalis (1868–1937) adressée à Juliette Adam le 15 mars 1897 (Fonds Juliette Adam, BnF, NAF 28140/4). Le critique grec se réfère à Aspasie, une belle Milésienne d'une rare intelligence et d'un sens aigu de la politique qui fut la compagne de Périclès.

2 Stephens, *Madame Adam* (*Juliette Lamber*)*, la Grande Française*.

3 Plus tard elle optera pour Lamber (sans le 't') comme nom de plume.

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH04

longévité, un siècle de l'histoire politique et littéraire de la France. Femme de lettres, romancière, publiciste, militante républicaine et mémorialiste, elle est aussi la fondatrice, en 1879, de la *Nouvelle Revue* dont elle assume la direction, pendant vingt ans, jusqu'en 1899.

La carrière littéraire de Juliette Adam est riche et durable: une cinquantaine d'ouvrages, des romans, des mémoires et des récits. Mais ce qui marque la scène politique nationale et internationale, c'est son activisme politique qui se traduit dans des centaines de pages de réflexions sur la marche du monde. Cette activité concourt à tracer le portrait d'une femme d'exception qui rayonne sous la III^e^ République, régime auquel elle va surtout lier son sort.[4] Son second mariage, en 1868, avec Edmond Adam (1816–1877) qui fut membre du Conseil d'État (1849–1851) et sera député de l'Union républicaine (1871–1875) avant de devenir sénateur inamovible (1875–1877), lui garantit une ascension sociale mais surtout une entrée dans le monde politique. Décidée à jouer un rôle dans la vie politique et littéraire de son pays, Juliette Adam réussit, grâce à sa beauté exceptionnelle et à son intelligence, à s'affirmer dans ce milieu masculin de la politique. Elle se rapproche d'éditeurs et de journalistes, et ouvre l'un des salons les plus célèbres et les plus influents du XIX^e^ siècle.[5]

Juliette Adam, 'plus puissante que *tous* (sic) les ministres', selon le mot de Flaubert,[6] recevait en effet chez elle les notabilités de la politique et des arts. Entre 1874 et 1884, son salon 'fut le centre du mouvement politique qui se produisait à Paris et dans les groupes parlementaires [...] Toutes les manifestations de la vie publique y avaient leur contrecoup, plusieurs même furent préparées dans ce milieu un peu enfiévré'.[7] Dans l'effervescence politique des années 1870 elle s'engage de plus en plus en politique, se passionne pour les séances de la Chambre qu'elle suit régulièrement et se met au service de la cause républicaine. Elle acquiert même la conviction profonde qu'elle est en quelque sorte témoin de l'histoire de France et, d'une manière plus générale, le témoin privilégié des vicissitudes de l'histoire tourmentée de l'Europe.

À partir de 1879, année qui marque sa rupture avec Léon Gambetta, le salon de Juliette Adam, veuve depuis 1877, prend une orientation plus littéraire sans perdre toutefois son caractère politique et demeure malgré

4 Sur la vie et l'œuvre de Juliette Adam, consulter Morcos, *Juliette Adam*; Cormier, *Madame Juliette Adam ou l'aurore de la III^e^ République*; Adde, *Et, c'est moi, Juliette!*; Hogenhuis-Seliverstoff, *Juliette Adam (1836–1936). L'Instigatrice*.

5 Sur les salons du XIX^e^ siècle consulter Kale, *French Salons*; Martin-Fugier, *Les Salons de la III^e^ République*; Agostini, 'L'*agency* de Juliette Adam'.

6 Flaubert, *Œuvres Complètes*, 54.

7 Martin-Fugier, *Les Salons*, 77.

tout le cercle préféré des Républicains. Tout ce que Paris compte de célébrités vient au moins une fois présenter ses hommages à Juliette Adam reconnue comme une grande figure républicaine: hommes politiques, financiers, militaires, artistes, écrivains, poètes, critiques, compositeurs, universitaires, diplomates, hommes d'État étrangers, têtes couronnées…[8] Or, les murs de son salon s'avèrent vite trop étroits pour ses projets; elle a besoin d'un organe de presse qui lui permette de mettre au service de la cause républicaine un instrument susceptible d'éduquer les masses à une prise de conscience totale des intérêts de la nation. Ainsi, à l'instigation du grand patron de la presse, Émile de Girardin, elle décide, en 1879, de fonder une revue.

La Nouvelle Revue

La Nouvelle Revue (dorénavant *NR*), créée le 1er octobre 1879, entend rivaliser avec la *Revue des Deux Mondes* de Charles Buloz, d'orientation orléaniste, conservatrice et traditionnelle dans ses choix, centrée sur la France et érudite.[9] Par contre, la *NR*, tribune des Républicains, se veut plus ouverte sur l'avenir car elle s'adresse à un public différent, celui des 'nouvelles couches sociales'. À l'exemple du salon de Juliette Adam, la revue dépasse le niveau national et s'élargit à l'échelle internationale. La *NR* se garde de toute érudition et l'actualité occupe une place prépondérante dans ses pages. Ce qui pousse l'équipe éditoriale à innover dans les pratiques journalistiques: la vie politique s'étale sur deux rubriques distinctes. L'une intitulée *Chronique politique* est consacrée à la politique intérieure, l'autre, *Les Lettres sur la politique extérieure*, est exclusivement dédiée à la politique étrangère. Cette dernière, sauf à de rares exceptions, est rédigée par Juliette Adam jusqu'en 1899, lorsqu'après vingt années de labeur intense, elle abandonne la direction d'une revue devenue déterminante dans la presse d'opinion française.[10]

La politique de la revue, modérée mais résolument républicaine, la qualité des informations sur la politique extérieure, grâce notamment aux différents réseaux que sa directrice avait constitués, la qualité des articles d'actualité couvrant tous les domaines d'intérêt, tout concourt au succès de ce nouveau périodique qui fut très tôt embrassé par les lecteurs. Dès le début de sa

8 Morcos, *Juliette Adam*, 95–152.

9 Sur la *Revue des Deux Mondes* voir Polycandrioti, chapitre 2 dans le présent volume.

10 Après sa démission en 1899, elle garde pour quelques mois encore la rubrique sur la politique étrangère qu'elle abandonnera définitivement en juillet 1900. La publication de la *NR* se poursuivra sous la direction de P.B. Gheusi.

publication, les tirages témoignent de ce que la *NR* répond à une attente: elle est tirée à 8000 exemplaires et devient rapidement la première revue française à l'étranger.[11]

L'histoire de la *NR* reflète non seulement la période la plus féconde et la plus passionnante de la vie de Juliette Adam, mais se trouve également intimement liée aux espoirs que caresse toute une génération de jeunes Républicains pour le redressement national. Dans une conjoncture politique qui s'internationalise de plus en plus, la revue se penche sur des questions qui relèvent de la politique internationale. Après 1871, à l'instar de la diplomatie française, Juliette Adam rêve de faire sortir le pays de l'isolement et la Revanche devient son cheval de bataille. Dictée par la germanophobie et la russophilie affirmée de sa directrice, la politique étrangère de la *NR* se construit autour de sa politique anti-allemande et anti-anglaise à un moment où dans les Balkans s'accélère l'effondrement de l'Empire ottoman. À la différence des autres revues parisiennes, elle souhaite ouvrir de nouveaux horizons à ses lecteurs, les initier à des problèmes qui ne sont pas spécifiquement français et les introduire à la connaissance des peuples amis (et ennemis). Dans ce cadre, la *NR* suit de près les crises politiques du dernier quart du XIX^{e} siècle qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, auront un impact sur l'avenir de la Grèce moderne, et elle soutient le nationalisme grec. Elle devient une tribune pour la cause de l'hellénisme à un moment où la politique française ne lui est guère favorable. Nous sommes loin, en effet, de la vague philhellène qui s'est emparée de la France en 1825: la Grèce souffre d'une réputation très négative en Europe qui voit d'un œil défavorable les aspirations irrédentistes de l'hellénisme.[12]

C'est ce regard particulier que porte la *NR* sur la Grèce moderne qui attire notre attention dans la présente étude. À partir d'un dépouillement systématique de la première période de la publication de la revue, entre 1879–1899, nous avons examiné la teneur des articles qui se réfèrent au pays afin de dégager l'image de la Grèce moderne que diffuse la revue ainsi que la place qu'elle lui accorde dans le contexte géopolitique et culturel de la fin du XIX^{e} siècle. Cette approche s'inscrit dans l'univers des transferts culturels franco-helléniques du dernier quart du XIX^{e} siècle et complète les connaissances que nous avons sur la réception de la Grèce en France et la construction d'un imaginaire collectif.

Mais avant de nous pencher sur les contenus de la *NR*, voyons la place qu'occupe la Grèce dans la pensée de sa directrice.

11 Hilgar, 'Juliette Adam et la *Nouvelle Revue*', 12, 15.

12 Pour une vue d'ensemble sur l'image de la Grèce moderne en France pendant l'époque qui nous intéresse ici, consulter Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 173–235.

Juliette Adam et la Grèce

Tôt initiée par son père au culte de l'Antiquité grecque et latine et à la philosophie panthéiste, Juliette Adam est, durant la plus grande partie de sa vie, une adoratrice des dieux antiques, ce qui l'amène à élaborer une vision païenne du monde.[13] Plus tard, dans le salon de Marie d'Agoult (connue aussi sous le pseudonyme de Daniel Stern), elle se lie avec Louis-Nicolas Ménard (1822–1901), poète et païen mystique, elle échange régulièrement avec Louis-François Nicod de Ronchaud (1816–1887), historien d'art et fondateur de l'école du Louvre, et fait la connaissance du 'très hellénisant' Paul de Saint-Victor ainsi que d'Émile Littré (1801–1881), célèbre philosophe et lexicographe.[14] Aux environs de 1860, lorsque Juliette Adam commence à fréquenter le salon de Madame d'Agoult, l'Antiquité est à la mode. C'est vers l'Hellade ancienne, terre de la beauté plastique, dans l'Orient hellénique, terre rêvée, rayonnante et colorée, que se tourne alors la génération des Parnassiens. La Grèce devient le symbole idéal de ce qu'il y a de meilleur au monde et on voit se construire un 'rêve hellénique'[15] auquel Juliette Adam n'échappe pas. Elle fait des auteurs Grecs ses vrais pères intellectuels et embrasse leur religion qui, à ses yeux, paraît la plus pure.

Cette perception idéalisée de l'Antiquité est exposée dans une trilogie, *Laide* (1878),[16] *Grecque* (1879)[17] et *Païenne* (1883).[18] Ces trois romans, médiocres du point de vue littéraire, constituent l'expression la plus complète de sa profonde admiration pour le génie grec et l'esprit païen et reconstituent une certaine Antiquité qui hantait depuis longtemps son esprit. L'idéal de la beauté et la reconnaissance envers les Grecs, qui ont initié l'Humanité à son appréciation transparaît dans *Laide*. Dans *Grecque*, où se confondent l'actualité de la Grèce et la mythologie, Ida la Crétoise sollicite l'aide d'Apollon à la veille de l'insurrection de 1866 pour réussir à délivrer son pays. Dans *Païenne*, profession de foi panthéiste à caractère autobiographique,[19] Juliette Adam confirme la fascination qu'exerce sur elle l'image d'Apollon. Dans cette trilogie, d'inspiration grecque, elle fait revivre l'Antiquité telle qu'elle l'imagine. Elle ressuscite les divinités de la Grèce antique, les rites, les croyances et les monuments, le tout baigné dans la lumière d'un soleil

13 Voir à ce sujet Morcos, *Juliette Adam*, 35–40.
14 Adam, *Mes premières armes littéraires et politiques*, 83, 110, 170 *et passim*.
15 Desonay, *Le rêve hellénique*, 1974.
16 Lamber, *Laide*.
17 Lamber, *Grecque*.
18 Lamber (Madame Adam), *Païenne*.
19 Morcos, *Juliette Adam*, 50–51.

radieux, créant une image idéalisée qui, en fait, a très peu ou pas du tout de rapport avec l'image de la Grèce antique qu'on pouvait avoir grâce aux travaux archéologiques ou aux travaux érudits publiés dans les revues savantes.[20]

Les connaissances de Juliette Adam sur l'Antiquité grecque restent donc assez superficielles et même souvent erronées comme le démontre Jules Lemaître. Celui-ci estime que les héros de ses romans s'avèrent incapables d'exprimer la pensée, la religion, le sentiment de la nature et le mysticisme de l'Antiquité grecque.[21] Il reconnaît toutefois que 'son hellénisme, moins pur peut-être et moins authentique qu'elle ne le croit, est si bien sa religion, sa vie et son tout, qu'il faut reconnaître que son œuvre [...] restera à tout le moins comme un rare effort "d'imagination sympathique"'.[22]

Cependant, si Juliette Adam se considère être 'la plus humble servante d'Apollon'[23] et reconnaît son impuissance 'à étreindre seule une Grèce colossale',[24] elle porte un regard attentif sur le sort de la Grèce moderne qui deviendra l'une de ses préoccupations centrales: 'J'ai porté la grandeur grecque ancienne avec les Grecs modernes. Ma passion pour l'histoire de la Grèce nouvelle, pour les luttes de son indépendance, pour ses efforts de relèvement, m'a donné des points d'appui'.[25]

Motivée par son amour pour la Grèce antique, elle se penche également sur le sort de la Grèce moderne qui ne cesse, en ce dernier quart du XIX^{e} siècle, de susciter des passions intellectuelles et politiques: la question d'Orient au lendemain de la conférence de Berlin (1878), les rivalités et les nationalismes balkaniques, le démantèlement de l'Empire ottoman ou encore le brigandage et le massacre de Dilessi en 1870,[26] l'expansionnisme grec, la révolte crétoise en 1896 et, enfin, la guerre gréco-turque de 1897, font que durant toute cette période la Grèce se trouve régulièrement sous les feux de l'actualité.[27] Or, le temps n'est plus au philhellénisme béat et le pays, désacralisé après la publication, en 1854, de *La Grèce contemporaine* d'Edmond About, est l'objet de nombreuses critiques, voire de railleries et de

20 Provata, 'La Grèce de Juliette Adam'.

21 Lemaître, 'Le néo-hellénisme. À propos des romans de Juliette Lamber (Mme Adam)'.

22 *Ibidem*, 745.

23 Adam, *Parole française à l'étranger*, 322.

24 *Ibidem*, 327.

25 *Ibidem*.

26 Le meurtre de sujets britanniques à Dilessi en 1870 met à l'épreuve les relations diplomatiques entre les deux pays et est à l'origine de nombreuses attaques diffamatoires en Europe. Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 173–187.

27 *Ibidem*, 173–314.

propos sarcastiques. Juliette Adam, en revanche, s'engage à travers sa revue dans la défense de l'hellénisme, engagement auquel elle souscrira sans faille durant toute sa vie. Mais pour gagner la sympathie de l'opinion française, voire européenne, et s'assurer de son soutien, il fallait que la Grèce sorte du cadre de l'Orient où l'avait trop longtemps placée le XIX^e^ siècle et qu'elle affirme son autonomie par rapport à l'Antiquité et au passé glorieux qui pesait lourdement sur elle. Il était donc impératif que l'attention se déplace vers la Grèce moderne.

Pour y arriver, Juliette Adam cède les pages de sa revue à des collaborateurs, grecs ou français, qui traitent de sujets multiples et variés concernant la Grèce: la politique et l'histoire du pays, la littérature néo-hellénique, la question de la langue et la diglossie, sans oublier l'archéologie et les voyages, la vie intellectuelle et culturelle. La directrice, quant à elle, suit avec une attention particulière la vie politique grecque à travers les *Lettres sur la politique extérieure* qu'elle signe régulièrement.

Le détail et le suivi de ces écrits soulèvent inévitablement la question des sources et des informateurs qu'elle a pu avoir. On sait que Juliette Adam, était l'une des femmes les mieux informées de son époque et qu'elle bénéficiait de l'aide provenant de ses très nombreux contacts, aussi bien en France qu'à l'étranger, comme le témoigne son inépuisable correspondance.[28] Mais il est difficile de connaître avec exactitude ses sources lorsqu'elle rédige les pages des *Lettres* qui se rapportent à la Grèce. Pendant près de soixante ans elle était abonnée à l'*Argus de la presse* dont les coupures des grands journaux européens, soigneusement classées et reliées, lui servaient pour composer ses *Lettres sur la politique extérieure*.[29] Une première source provient certainement des conversations qu'elle avait pu avoir dans son salon. Celui-ci compte parmi ses hôtes assidus – on l'a dit – beaucoup de diplomates étrangers, ambassadeurs et chefs de mission, conseillers, hommes d'État étrangers de passage à Paris, bref tout un monde qui évolue là où se tâte le pouls de la politique européenne qui définit l'avenir des nations. Mais c'est surtout sa correspondance qui nous permet d'identifier son réseau grec: des interlocuteurs grecs réguliers, dont des amis de longue date installés à Paris comme Dimitrios Bikélas (1835–1908)[30] ou Jean Psichari (1854–1929), des hommes politiques et des érudits, des Grecs de passage à Paris qui se

28 Morcos, *Juliette Adam*, 280–284.

29 *Ibidem*, 281.

30 Bikélas est l'un des médiateurs culturels les plus importants dans l'espace franco-hellénique de la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle. Voir à ce sujet Provata, 'Η συμβολή του Δημητρίου Βικέλα στις διαπολιτισμικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας-Γαλλίας'; Mitsou, 'Négoce et transfert culturel'.

présentent dans son salon avec une lettre de recommandation à la main. Parmi ses nombreux correspondants grecs, et sans que la liste soit exhaustive, citons Alexandre Rizos Rangabé (1809–1892), érudit et diplomate, son fils Cléon Rizos Rangabé (1842–1917) qui suivit les pas de son père, Alexandre A. Contostavlos (1825/1835–1909), juriste et homme politique, Théodore Delyannis (1820–1905) et Charilaos Trikoupis (1832–1896), tous deux ayant servi comme Premier Ministre, ou encore les diplomates en poste en France Christos Mitsopoulos (1870–1935) et Athos Romanos (1858–1940). Elle a également de nombreux contacts dans le milieu des Hellénistes européens et entretient une correspondance régulière avec, entre autres, le juriste Pierre Pharmacopoulos,[31] avec des journalistes comme Dimitrios Caclamanos (1867–1949), directeur du journal *Το Άστυ* [La Cité] puis éditeur du journal *Το Νέον Άστυ* [La Nouvelle Cité], Jean Arsenis (?–1925), directeur de l'almanach *Η Ποικίλη Στοά* [Le Pœcile], le très influent Antonios Zanetakis Stéphanopoli (1839–1913), directeur du journal francophone *Le Messager d'Athènes* et sa fille Jeanne Stéphanopoli (1878–1953) qui prend à la mort de celui-ci la direction du journal.[32] À ceux-là ajoutons Charles de Moüy (1834–1922), littérateur et critique littéraire, l'un des amis les plus fidèles de Juliette Adam, ministre plénipotentiaire à Athènes entre 1880–1886 et l'un des 'diplomates-informateurs' qui fournit avec zèle des informations à la directrice de la revue.[33]

La Grèce dans la *Nouvelle Revue*

Juliette Adam ne cachait point ses plans pour la Grèce. Elle estimait que l'Europe avait tout intérêt à créer dans le bassin méditerranéen un État fort capable de profiter du démantèlement de l'Empire ottoman; un pays qui pourrait aussi, si la situation s'avérait propice, réaliser son plus grand vœu national, à savoir occuper Constantinople et les détroits du Bosphore sans pour autant provoquer l'inquiétude de la Russie. Cet irrédentisme, expression la plus achevée du nationalisme grec au cours du XIX^{e} siècle et des premières décennies du XX^{e} siècle, trouva un ardent défenseur en la personne de Juliette Adam et dans les pages de sa revue.

Ainsi, lorsqu'elle prend la plume pour rédiger ses *Lettres*, c'est pour discréditer l'alliance turco-allemande et encourager les mouvements nationalistes

31 On sait qu'il était assistant à la faculté de Lettres de Genève. Voir *Liste des autorités, professeurs, étudiants et assistants de l'Université de Genève*.

32 Fonds Juliette Adam, NAF 28140.

33 Morcos, *Juliette Adam*, 282.

dans les Balkans, notamment en Grèce. Le regard attentif qu'elle porte sur la vie politique du pays, la manière dont elle place la question grecque dans le cadre plus vaste de la politique des Balkans et de l'Europe en général ou les opinions qu'elle exprime sur les hommes politiques grecs dépassent les limites de la présente étude et mériteraient certainement un examen plus approfondi. Notons simplement que ses interventions seront beaucoup plus dynamiques lors des moments de crises affrontées par l'hellénisme. Elle prend très souvent la plume pour soutenir les aspirations de la Grèce en Macédoine. En 1895, pour ne citer qu'un seul exemple, elle écrit à ce propos:

> Au milieu des troubles de l'histoire, après les croisades, après l'occupation successive des Serbes, des Turcs, des Bulgares, une seule chose est restée debout en Macédoine: l'hellénisme, idée immortelle et impérissable. C'est donc aux Hellènes pacifiques, possesseurs de deux civilisations l'antique et la moderne, que la Macédoine est finalement destinée, quelles que soient les fluctuations de l'avenir.[34]

Elle s'engage avec la même ferveur pour la question crétoise en 1896[35] et la guerre gréco-turque en 1897. Lorsque la Crète réclame son autonomie, Juliette Adam se lance dans une campagne visant à sensibiliser l'opinion publique française Elle expose la situation de l'île non seulement dans sa propre revue – dans les *Lettres* – mais aussi dans d'autres feuilles, comme *Le Petit Marseillais*.[36] Dans toutes ces circonstances elle reste fidèle à ses engagements et soutient la politique de l'expansionnisme de l'État néo-grec, ce qui lui vaut en Grèce le titre d'une des plus ardentes philhellènes.

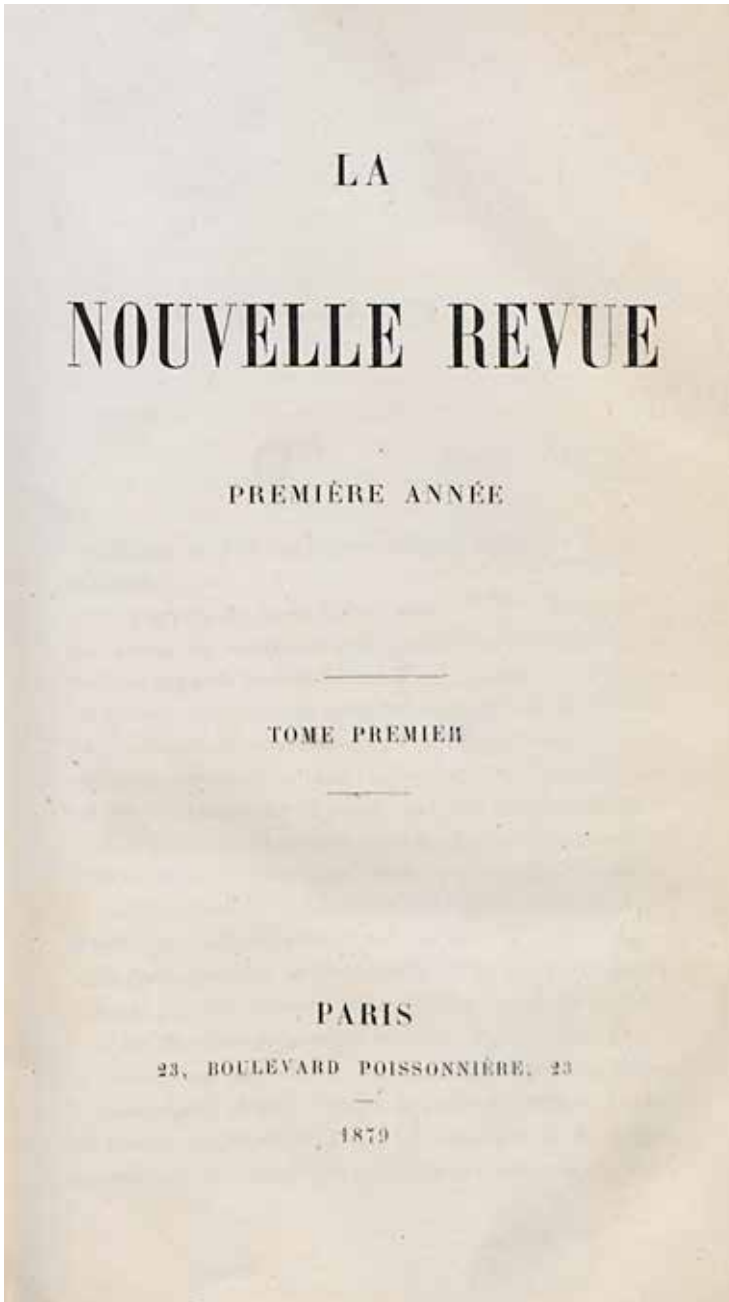
Mais pour que le public de la *NR* puisse suivre toutes les questions de la politique extérieure liées à la Grèce, il lui faut une sorte d'initiation, politique et historique, que la directrice de la revue s'engage à lui fournir à travers une série d'études et d'articles confiés à ses collaborateurs, grecs ou français.

Dès la première année de sa parution, la revue suit de près l'évolution de la question d'Orient, problème compliqué et constant de l'échiquier international, dans lequel prédominent le réveil des nations qui se trouvent sous le joug de l'Empire ottoman – ce qui accéléra la décomposition de ce dernier – et l'intérêt des grandes puissances européennes pour la région. Dans la première livraison de la *NR* les lecteurs peuvent y lire un exposé

34 Adam, 'Lettres sur la politique extérieure', 812.

35 Sur l'impact de l'insurrection crétoise dans la presse française voir Sofou, chapitre 9 dans le présent volume.

36 Adam, 'La Crète'; Adam, L'autonomie en Crète'.


LA

NOUVELLE REVUE

PREMIÈRE ANNÉE

TOME PREMIER

PARIS

23, BOULEVARD POISSONNIÈRE, 23

1879

Figure 4.1. Couverture du premier tome de *La Nouvelle Revue*. Reproduction avec l'autorisation de la Bibliothèque du Parlement Hellénique [Front cover of the first volume of the journal *La Nouvelle Revue*. Reproduced with permission of the Library of the Hellenic Parliament].

détaillé de la question d'Orient écrit par Étienne Türr,[37] alors que Démitriadis, de son côté, fournit un résumé précis du congrès de Berlin de 1878 où il souligne la revendication de la Grèce pour l'annexion de la Thessalie, de l'Épire et de la Crète.[38] L'exiguïté du territoire grec et les conséquences néfastes du congrès de Berlin pour l'avenir de la région sont dorénavant posées.[39] Or, si la Grèce a besoin du soutien de l'Europe, il en est de même dans le sens inverse car seule la Grèce, aux yeux de la *NR*, peut garantir le progrès de la civilisation en Orient: 'L'Europe, en abandonnant l'hellénisme, déclarerait formellement que toute réforme civilisatrice en Orient, – et nous considérons comme telle l'extension de l'influence grecque, – doit être achetée par de nouvelles luttes et par de nouveaux flots de sang'.[40] Ainsi se définit la mission politique de la Grèce dans la région balkanique.

Mais ce sont surtout les essais historiques publiés dans la *NR* qui vont permettre au lectorat français de se familiariser avec le parcours historique du pays, de comprendre les particularités de l'identité hellénique et de se construire une image de la Grèce moderne.

Trop longtemps méprisée, la période byzantine constitue le maillon manquant dans la chaîne du temps, celui qui relie l'Antiquité à la Grèce moderne et que des historiens, en particulier Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos et Spyridon Zambélios,[41] ont tenté de réhabiliter. En effet, face au danger des nationalismes balkaniques, qui menaçaient la prépondérance grecque dans la région, il était crucial d'affirmer la continuité historique de la nation.

Ainsi Bikélas publie-t-il dans la *NR* une série d'études dont le but est de souligner la continuité de l'histoire de la Grèce.[42] Parmi les premiers à prendre la défense de la période byzantine, si longtemps décriée, il montre, à l'aide de nouvelles recherches,[43] que tout n'était pas corrompu dans ce

37 Türr, 'Question d'Orient'. Étienne Türr (István Türr, 1825–1908), est un ingénieur militaire hongrois et compagnon d'armes de Garibaldi. En 1881, il se voit confier le projet du percement de l'Isthme de Corinthe avec la signature d'un accord de concession de 99 ans.

38 Démitriadis, 'Le Protocole XIII du traité de Berlin'.

39 Le congrès de Berlin (1878), loin de satisfaire les attentes des peuples balkaniques, entraîne une série de crises dans la région qui aboutissent à la Grande guerre (Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, 412).

40 *Ibidem*, 191.

41 Koubourlis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές*.

42 Ces textes seront plus tard insérés dans un recueil d'essais historiques publié en 1893 (Bikélas, *La Grèce byzantine et moderne*). Voir également la recension de cet ouvrage dans la *NR* (Rodocanachi, 'Chronique historique', 170).

43 Il s'appuie par exemple sur le livre de Renieri (Markos Renieris, *Ιστορικαί μελέται. Ο Έλλην Πάπας Αλέξανδρος Ε΄. Το Βυζάντιον και η εν Βασιλεία σύνοδος* [Études historiques. La vie du pape grec Alexandre V. Byzance et le concile de Bâle] (Athènes, Coromilas, 1881)) ou encore l'étude de Gustave Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au X^e siècle, Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1890).

'Bas-Empire' et qu'à côté des vices et des intrigues on pouvait trouver des preuves de sagesse politique et de fierté.[44] Son intérêt se porte ensuite vers la période de l'asservissement à l'Empire ottoman pour rappeler non seulement l'humiliation d'un esclavage accablant mais aussi ses funestes conséquences économiques et commerciales ayant conduit un pays, jadis prospère, au marasme, transformant la Grèce en un 'pays inaccessible et inconnu'. S'il trouve un défaut chez les Grecs, c'est la corruption, imputée toutefois aux Ottomans et à une trop longue servitude. Mais il s'empresse d'expliquer comment les Grecs purent s'organiser, malgré 'l'abaissement du caractère national [qui] était le plus grand des dangers et des maux de la servitude',[45] et se redresser, surtout grâce au développement de l'instruction. Ainsi, une fois le bien-être matériel conquis, la nation s'investit dans le réveil moral et intellectuel, se préparant de la sorte au rôle prépondérant qu'elle souhaite assumer dans la région.

La *NR* accorde une place particulière à un épisode de l'histoire de la Grèce peu connu du public français. Il s'agit de l'occupation des îles Ioniennes par la France durant la Première République et l'Empire, et des projets de Bonaparte dans la région qui sont traités dans trois études publiées en 1881, 1889 et 1898.[46] Leurs trois auteurs s'accordent pour reconnaître que même si Napoléon dut abandonner ses projets après l'échec de la campagne d'Égypte, le contact des îles – demeurées jusqu'alors très orientales de mœurs et de traditions – avec l'esprit révolutionnaire français leur fut bénéfique et contribua à préparer l'affranchissement de la Grèce. Inutile de dire que ces études visent en outre à souligner les liens privilégiés qui unissent les deux pays.

Si l'histoire sert de point de repère, l'objectif de Juliette Adam est avant tout de dresser, à travers sa revue, une image positive de la Grèce moderne. Antoine Vlasto[47] s'applique à montrer que la Grèce a accompli de grands et rapides progrès qu'il impute à trois facteurs: le retour des *Homogènes*,[48]

44 Bikélas, 'Les Grecs aux conciles de Bâle et de Florence'; Bikélas, 'L'empereur Nicéphore Phocas'.

45 Bikélas, 'La Grèce avant 1821', 145.

46 Gaffarel, 'Les îles Ioniennes pendant la première occupation française', 1881; Antonopoulos, 'Bonaparte et la Grèce', 1889; Rodocanachi, 'Les îles Ioniennes pendant l'occupation française', 1898. L'essai de Rodocanachi s'étale sur quatre livraisons, sera publié intégralement l'année suivante, en 1899.

47 Antoine Vlasto fut président de la Banque de Constantinople avant de s'installer à Paris où il dirigea le Comptoir d'Escompte.

48 Il nomme ainsi les *Hétérochtones*, les Grecs nés ou établis à l'étranger, armateurs, négociants ou banquiers qui représentent 'ce qui reste de plus hellénique du vieux fonds de la civilisation grecque' (Vlasto, 'La Grèce en 1884', 264).

l'annexion de la Thessalie en 1881 et la politique réformatrice de Trikoupis. La Grèce de 1884 porte, selon lui, tous les signes de la modernité: le développement du crédit et l'accroissement de la production agricole dans la riche plaine de Thessalie, favorisés par le développement du réseau des chemins de fer et des routes, sans oublier la marine marchande, laissent présager un bel avenir pour le pays. De même, le renouvellement de la vie intellectuelle grâce aux nombreuses écoles, publiques et privées, et aux travaux accomplis au sein de l'université d'Athènes permettrait à la capitale du pays de retrouver sa gloire d'antan: 'Athènes deviendra ce qu'elle a déjà été, un foyer, un centre intellectuel et scientifique'.[49] Tout concourt à mettre une fin à l'isolement du pays qui peut désormais compter parmi les nations européennes.

Bikélas, de son côté, complète l'argumentation en exposant les résultats satisfaisants, selon lui, de la première période du règne de Georges I[er] qui a réussi à transformer le pays. Les progrès réalisés dans le domaine de l'agriculture et de l'industrie, l'accroissement du commerce, la répression du brigandage qui a tellement nui à la réputation de la Grèce et le rétablissement de la sécurité publique, l'éducation parlementaire du pays, qui a su convertir les vieilles haines en de simples rivalités politiques, et la multiplication des moyens de communication, constituent autant de preuves de la marche du pays dans la voie du progrès.[50]

La dernière décennie du siècle est marquée par deux événements qui portent de nouveau la Grèce au premier plan de l'actualité européenne: l'effondrement de l'économie grecque en 1893 et sa lourde défaite militaire devant l'Empire ottoman en 1897. Ces événements vont sérieusement mettre en péril l'avenir de la nation mais aussi ses prétentions dans l'espace balkanique et oriental. Pendant ces années, les élites intellectuelles se mobilisent pour montrer que le pays est toujours capable d'assumer le rôle hégémonique qu'il s'était donné au milieu du siècle. Face au refroidissement des relations entre la Grèce et l'Europe, suite à l'insurrection crétoise de 1896, Pierre de Coubertin lance de véhéments reproches à l'Europe pour son inertie face à la question crétoise et l'accuse de 'mensonge historique' car, insiste-il, 'à chaque fois que la question grecque a été soulevée, l'Europe a ajouté à la longue liste de ses perfidies quelques traits nouveaux. Elle a manqué à sa parole, repris sa signature, menti à sa mission; elle a été égoïste, indifférente, cynique et cruelle…'.[51] La même année, Georges Doublet (1863–1936), ancien membre de l'École française d'Athènes, retrace pour les lecteurs de la *NR* l'histoire

49 *Ibidem*, 'La Grèce en 1884', 287.

50 Bikélas, 'Vingt-cinq années de règne constitutionnel en Grèce'.

51 Coubertin, 'Un mensonge historique', 248.

de la Crète qui doit s'accommoder d'une part des 'illusoires promesses' de la Turquie et d'autre part de l'indifférence de l'Europe.[52]

Dans cette conjoncture Antonios Zanetakis Stéphanopoli tente de réhabiliter la réputation de la Grèce en soulignant l'importance du facteur grec dans le problème oriental et en montrant les perspectives de l'économie grecque: 'Ce n'est pas en comparant la Grèce avec les nations les plus florissantes de l'Europe occidentale, mais en la comparant à elle-même qu'on peut porter un jugement sûr et impartial sur l'activité et l'intelligence de cette vaillante et fière nation'.[53]

Ces propos sont appuyés par Jean Psichari qui, à l'occasion du massacre des Arméniens perpétré entre 1894 et 1896 sous le règne du sultan Abdul Hamid II, exalte le rôle que la Grèce est appelée à jouer dans la région:

> N'est-il pas clair que, pour toutes les puissances, la Grèce, le royaume de Grèce est une espèce de boulevard neutre, un rempart élevé à souhait contre des ambitions, des rivalités réciproques, plus dures à mater pour les uns comme pour les autres, que les prétendues revendications helléniques? L'Angleterre, l'Autriche, la Russie et la France ont un intérêt égal à ce garde-fou, à ce tampon.[54]

On le sait, la défense de la Grèce ne fait pas l'unanimité et l'Europe est irritée des imprudences du gouvernement grec qui ont par ailleurs conduit à la honteuse défaite de 1897. Les extraits du Journal de bord de la 'Clairette', un yacht au bord duquel le comte de Chalot visite, en 1897, les régions du conflit, apportent des éclairages précieux sur l'état de non-préparation et la témérité de l'armée grecque, des appréciations qui ne sont toutefois pas partagées par la directrice de la revue. Dans une rare intervention, Juliette Adam prend ses distances avec ces propos pour préciser à ses lecteurs que 'La direction, très engagée dans certaines questions de politique extérieure, se permet seulement quelques réserves personnelles sur certaines appréciations de M. le comte de Chalot qu'elle prie d'en vouloir bien prendre, seul, l'entière responsabilité'.[55]

Dans ce contexte politique instable, voire hostile, il était donc crucial que la Grèce puisse s'inscrire dans un espace socio-culturel précis, celui de

52 Doublet, 'La Crète martyre'. La même année, Doublet publie dans la *Revue des études grecques* un autre article intitulé 'La Crète autonome'.

53 Stéphanopoli, 'En Grèce', 93. Le texte de Stéphanopoli paraîtra la même année en Grèce dans une brochure intitulée 'Le facteur grec dans le problème oriental'.

54 Psichari, 'Les Arméniens, les Crétois et l'Europe', 65.

55 Chalot, 'En yacht au pays de la guerre gréco-turque', 480.

l'Occident européen, et qu'elle réapparaisse comme un véhicule de culture et de civilisation. On s'y appliqua à travers la promotion de la littérature grecque moderne. Mais, la Grèce étant dans une situation de diglossie, il fallait d'abord régler la question de la langue nationale.

La *Nouvelle Revue* et la promotion de la littérature néohellénique

Nul doute que la revue a une orientation politique très claire et que sa directrice a mené à travers ses pages plusieurs luttes politiques. Mais cela ne doit pas faire oublier qu'elle est aussi une femme de lettres. Aussi la *NR* devient-elle la pépinière de toute une génération d'écrivains français qui ne sont pas perçus sous un jour favorable chez sa rivale de la rive-gauche.[56] En même temps la revue s'ouvre aux littératures étrangères, dont la littérature néo-hellénique qu'elle fait découvrir à ses lecteurs.

Faire la promotion de la littérature néo-hellénique, tel est donc l'objectif de Juliette Adam lorsqu'elle publie, entre 1880 et 1881, une série de cinq études sur les poètes grecs contemporains, signées Juliette Lamber.[57] Réunis en volume sous le même titre, ces textes seront aussi publiés intégralement à la fin de 1881.[58] Or, plusieurs indices nous permettent de conclure que cette longue étude serait en grande partie rédigée de la main de son étroit collaborateur et ami, Dimitrios Bikélas. On sait en premier lieu que Juliette Adam n'était en mesure ni de lire ni de pleinement pouvoir apprécier le grec moderne: elle avoue avoir demandé à Bikélas de lui traduire une des brochures qu'il avait publiées en grec.[59] En second lieu, peu d'ouvrages portant sur la littérature néo-hellénique étaient disponibles en français pour qu'elle puisse s'en faire une idée concrète. En effet, si l'on excepte les traductions des *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* publiés par Claude Fauriel en 1824–1825 ou quelques tentatives sporadiques de la part de poètes grecs de s'exprimer en français,[60] les traductions d'œuvres grecques en français étaient rares.[61] Cela dit, elle avoue avoir utilisé comme source l'*Histoire littéraire de la Grèce moderne* d'Alexandre Rizos Rangabé, publiée en 1877.[62]

56 Morcos, *Juliette Adam*, 255–260.

57 Lamber, 'Poètes grecs contemporains', 3 (1880), 368–377; 4 (1880), 839–860; 6 (1880), 852–883; 8 (1881), 628–659; 9 (1881), 370–411.

58 Lamber, *Poètes grecs contemporains*.

59 Lamber, 'Poètes grecs contemporains', 6 (1880), 6.

60 Provata, 'Écrire en français'.

61 Politis, 'Από τον Φωριέλ στην Ιουλιέττα Λαμπέρ-Αδάμ'.

62 Lamber, 'Poètes grecs contemporains', 3 (1881), 649.

Lorsque Juliette Adam fait la connaissance de Bikélas, celui-ci a déjà entrepris l'élaboration d'une série d'études sur la poésie. Après en avoir pris connaissance, elle lui propose de les publier dans la *NR*. Bikélas accepte à condition qu'elle fasse la relecture et la correction de ses manuscrits et, surtout, qu'elle accepte de les signer de son nom, son autorité étant le passeport nécessaire pour introduire la littérature grecque moderne auprès des lecteurs français. La correspondance privée de Bikélas apporte la preuve de la lutte qu'il dut mener pour arracher l'assentiment de Juliette Adam. À sa mère, Bikélas il écrit:

> J'ai rendu un grand service à la Nation, car ces articles sont pour le monde français une révélation et nous rendent un grand service, bien plus que les articles politiques publiés dans les journaux. […] Ils nous accordent de la notoriété et nous mettent en contact avec le monde extérieur. Si j'avais écrit et publié moi-même ces études je n'aurais jamais réussi à en faire autant parler. Ma collaboratrice m'a, à plusieurs reprises, demandé de mettre nos deux noms mais je n'ai pas accepté.[63]

Cette collaboration est aussi confirmée par le marquis de Saint-Hilaire qui écrit à Bikélas: 'J'ai lu avec beaucoup d'intérêt, vos nouvelles études sur les poètes de l'École d'Athènes. C'est fort bien fait, comme tout ce que vous faites'.[64] La dédicace de Juliette Adam à Bikélas dans l'édition intégrale apporte d'ailleurs une preuve supplémentaire de cette étroite collaboration: 'Je vous prie d'accepter la dédicace d'un livre que je n'eusse pas fait sans votre concours'.

Cette série d'études sur la poésie moderne de la Grèce dessine un paysage poétique grec réparti en quatre écoles: l'école ionienne, l'école de Constantinople, l'école d'Athènes et l'école épirote. Pour chacune sont évoquées les origines, les éventuelles influences et les représentants. Aux plus illustres des poètes sont réservés des portraits plus détaillés. Mais le plus grand mérite de cette entreprise réside peut-être dans les traductions qu'elle comporte, des extraits d'œuvres poétiques peu connues.

Si pour la présentation du panorama de la poésie grecque on peut donc supposer une écriture à deux mains, en revanche la conclusion serait de la main de Juliette Adam.[65] Il semble, en effet, que la directrice de la revue se soit réservée les dernières pages pour s'exprimer et faire foi de son

63 Cité dans Oikonomou, *Τρεις Άνθρωποι*, 279.

64 Lettre du 16 février 1881, citée dans Konstandellias, *Δημήτριος Βικέλας*, 343.

65 C'est du moins ce qu'affirme Oikonomou (*Τρεις Άνθρωποι*, 279).

appréciation personnelle sur la littérature néo-hellénique.[66] On y reconnaît son style fougueux mais surtout son engagement personnel pour la défense de l'hellénisme qui fait que cette anthologie poétique prend par endroits des allures de traité historique. Sans le citer nominalement, elle oppose un démenti aux théories de Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer[67]:

> Nous n'avons voulu, en ce qui nous concerne qu'étudier en quelques traits la partie de la littérature grecque qui comprend la poésie, et nous ne pensons pas, après les brèves citations que nous avons données d'un petit nombre de poètes [...] qu'il soit possible de supposer actuellement sur le sol de la Grèce une race différente de celle qui l'habitait il y a deux mille ans.[68]

Influencée par les théories de Taine et de Herbert Spencer sur l'influence des circonstances et du milieu, elle choisit de classer la littérature de ce 'peuple sans mélange'[69] en quatre écoles.[70] Pour chacune d'entre elles, elle étudie les conditions où elle se sont produites et suit l'évolution de leurs œuvres intellectuelles. D'après l'auteur, seule l'école épirote peut être reconnue comme héritière véritable de l'Antiquité; elle est 'la voix profonde de la race hellénique'[71] et mériterait le nom d'école nationale. Dans les chants klephtiques et chez les poètes de l'école épirote on entend, précise-t-elle, 'la voix profonde de la race hellénique'.[72] La langue utilisée dans cette poésie, langue commune à tous les Grecs, confère la supériorité de l'école épirote sur les trois autres. Seule cette langue, conclue-t-elle, peut donc être reconnue comme la langue nationale. Rejoignant les propos de Psichari, Juliette Adam impute l'absence d'une littérature vraiment nationale au défaut d'une vraie langue nationale et accuse ouvertement l'université d'avoir persécuté et pourchassé le démotique comme 'un vulgaire patois': 'si l'esprit hellénique en est encore à ses premiers pas; si la Grèce n'a pas encore de littérature vraiment nationale; si la patrie intellectuelle est encore

66 Dans l'édition intégrale de 1881, ces pages tiennent place d'introduction, à l'exception des pages 407–411 qui continuent à figurer dans la conclusion. Cf. i–xv.

67 L'historien allemand avait soutenu, dans son ouvrage *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morée während des Mittelaltersi* (1830) que les populations hellènes du Péloponnèse ont été totalement éteintes par les invasions slaves au cours du VI[e] siècle.

68 Lamber, 'Poètes grecs contemporains', 9 (1881), 392.

69 *Ibidem*, 399.

70 Cette répartition arbitraire en grande partie fut critiquée de son temps (Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 231–232).

71 Lamber, 'Poètes grecs contemporains', 9 (1881), 406.

72 *Ibidem*.

à délivrer de l'invasion étrangère, en d'autres termes, si la libre expression du génie grec renaissant est encore à conquérir, c'est elle [l'université] qui en est coupable'.[73]

Plaidoyer pour une littérature nationale, ce texte est aussi un manifeste pour la régénération de la Grèce, pour l'annexion tant espérée des provinces encore assujetties: 'La Grèce contemporaine, si elle tient à recouvrer toutes les qualités intellectuelles et morales qui ont fait la gloire de la Grèce ancienne, doit revivre dans l'héroïsme des Klephtes, doit retourner dans les montagnes de la Thessalie, de l'Épire et de la Macédoine, pour en repartir et continuer jusqu'au bout les destinées de la race hellénique', écrit Juliette Adam.[74] Cet engagement idéologique n'est pas sans rapport avec l'actualité politique du pays: ces lignes publiées en 1881, date à laquelle est annexée la Thessalie, cherchent explicitement à encourager les Grecs dans la poursuite de leur lutte et soulignent le rôle influent que peut jouer la Grèce dans la région.

Avec sa contribution à l'élaboration de l'ouvrage *Poètes grecs contemporains*, Bikélas atteint son objectif premier; il continuera ses efforts dans la même direction. Sur son initiative a lieu dans l'intimité du salon de Juliette Adam et du 'Petit Théâtre' qu'elle y avait emménagé, une lecture de *Galatée*, drame grec de Spyridon Vassiliadis (1845–1874) traduit en juin 1880 par le baron Paul d'Estournelles de Constant (1852–1924) et adapté par la maîtresse des lieux.[75]

Mais le renouvellement de la littérature néo-hellénique doit passer par la prose. Bikélas se tourne alors vers le jeune poète Georgios Bizyénos (1849–1896), qui séjourne alors à Paris, et le convainc de s'essayer à ce genre. En avril 1883 Bizyénos publie dans la *NR* 'Le péché de ma mère' dans une traduction attribuée au marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire.[76] Cette nouvelle sera publiée la même année en grec dans la revue *Εστία* [Hestia]. Cette double publication conféra une renommée importante à l'œuvre, favorablement reçue dans la presse européenne.[77]

Le marquis de Saint-Hilaire, engagé lui aussi dans la promotion de la littérature grecque en France, fait remarquer à son ami Bikélas l'importance des traductions dans les transferts franco-helléniques: 'Les traductions françaises ou européennes, voilà ce qu'il est urgent de faire aujourd'hui

73 *Ibidem*, 404.

74 *Ibidem,* 395. Sur ce point elle partage l'opinion d'Edmond About qui estimait que les seuls chants originaux étaient les chants des klephtes (About, *La Grèce contemporaine,* 218).

75 Morcos, *Juliette Adam*, 129. La pièce fut représentée la même année au Théâtre de Nations (*Ibidem* 145 et note 419).

76 Bizyénos, 'Le péché de ma mère'.

77 Varelas, *Μετά θάρρους ανησυχίαν εμπνέοντος*, 71–73.

partout pour faire connaître les œuvres et l'esprit et les gens que l'Europe ne connaît complètement!'.[78] Ainsi, en 1886, la *NR* publie une traduction anonyme, attribuée elle aussi à Saint-Hilaire,[79] de la nouvelle de Bikélas 'Philippe Marthas'.[80]

Psichari, on le sait, a écrit aussi bien dans sa langue maternelle que dans sa langue d'adoption. Il entretient une collaboration étroite avec Juliette Adam, comme en témoignent leurs échanges épistolaires.[81] La directrice de la revue le sollicite à plusieurs reprises: il s'exprime sur la réforme de l'orthographe en France en 1889,[82] livre ses réflexions dans 'Religion et irréligion',[83] ou sur 'La science et les destinées nouvelles de la poésie',[84] écrit, on l'a vu, des études historiques.[85] Pour ce qui est de la littérature, après la publication d'une série de poèmes en français,[86] il publie 'Jalousie', nouvelle d'abord publiée en grec, qui inaugure sa carrière littéraire dans la prose.[87]

Mises à part ces publications qui ont permis aux lecteurs de la *NR* de goûter des pages de littérature néo-hellénique, il ne faudrait pas méconnaître l'effort entrepris par la revue pour informer ses lecteurs des nouvelles parutions d'ouvrages portant sur la Grèce. Pour la plupart il s'agit de brèves recensions, publiées dans la 'Chronique historique et littéraire', le plus souvent rédigées par l'historien d'origine grecque Emmanuel Rodocanachi (1859–1934).[88] En 1885, dans la partie Livres de la *NR*, Francisque Sarcey présente le récit de Bikélas, *De Nicopolis à Olympie*, une série de lettres

78 Lettre du marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire à Bikélas, 16 février 1881, citée dans Konstandellias, *Δημήτριος Βικέλας*, 344.

79 *Ibidem*, 168.

80 Bikélas, 'Philippe Marthas, nouvelle grecque'.

81 Fonds Psichari, *Correspondance*, dossier II, 1, f. 17–68. '*La Nouvelle Revue* a toujours ses portes ouvertes à grands battants pour Jean Psichari', lui écrit-elle en 1889 (Lettre datée de 1889, f. 29). Grâce à ces échanges nous apprenons que les articles dans la *NR* étaient payés 10 francs la page, somme modique selon sa directrice (Lettre non datée à Psichari, f. 34).

82 Psichari, 'Quelques mots sur l'orthographe'.

83 Psichari, 'Religion et irréligion'.

84 Psichari, 'La science et les destinées nouvelles de la poésie'.

85 Psichari, 'Les Arméniens, les Crétois et l'Europe'.

86 Psichari, 'La Vie renaissante'.

87 Psichari, 'Jalousie'. Voir Constandulaki-Chantzou, *Jean Psichari et les lettres françaises*, 81–86.

88 Parmi les ouvrages présentés: *Loukis Laras* (79, novembre–décembre 1892) et *La Grèce byzantine et moderne* (83, juin–juillet 1893, 170) de Bikélas; le livre C. Spyridis, *La langue grecque actuelle ou moderne, méthode et grammaire pratique* (90, septembre–octobre 1894, 883); *Autour de la Grèce* de Jean Psichari (95, juillet–août 1895, 197). Bikélas, lui, présente le dernier livre de Gérasimos Marcoras (67, novembre–décembre 1890, 436–437).

que Bikélas adresse à son ami intime le marquis de Saint-Hilaire[89] et qui constituent une réfutation des thèses d'Edmond About. Sarcey choisit d'en reproduire dans sa présentation des extraits, soigneusement sélectionnés, pour détruire les préjugés accumulés contre la Grèce:

> Tout est changé. D'abord on ne prend plus escorte. Il n'y a plus de brigandage et l'on peut parcourir la Grèce tout entière avec plus de sécurité, ne vous en déplaise, que sur les boulevards extérieurs de Paris. Puis, les lignes de nos bateaux à vapeur se sont multipliées; les routes carrossables ont déjà ouvert une bonne partie du pays aux voyageurs qui aiment leurs aises'. […] Ainsi, dans dix ou quinze ans, […] on voyagera chez nous comme on voyage en Suisse et en Écosse. N'attendez pas ce moment; venez avant que les convois de cockneys, remorquées par Cook, ne vulgarisent notre terre classique; avant qu'il y ait à Delphes et sur le mont Taygète de grands hôtels avec des garçons en cravate blanche et parlant anglais.[90]

Cette invitation à la découverte de la Grèce moderne se fait d'autant plus évidente lorsqu'il s'agit des récits de voyage.

À la découverte de la Grèce: les récits de voyage

La *NR* ne se veut pas – on l'a dit – une revue érudite, ce qui explique sans doute le fait que son intérêt pour l'archéologie demeure limité. Deux études de Gabriel Daurès, à l'occasion des fouilles à Delphes en 1880 par Théodore Homolle et à Olympie par Ernst Curtius sont à peu près tout ce que le lecteur de la *NR* pouvait lire sur les découvertes archéologiques qui modifiaient les connaissances sur la Grèce antique.[91] En revanche la revue fait preuve d'un intérêt déclaré pour la Grèce moderne et pour les images que le pays peut offrir aux yeux du voyageur. À une époque où se fait sentir, sous le signe d'un mouvement général de démocratisation de la culture, un changement des pratiques culturelles, la Grèce apparaît comme une destination touristique mariant à son passé antique la variété de ses paysages modernes. Ainsi, une série de récits publiés entre 1886 et 1897 sont d'une certaine manière, une sorte de propédeutique pour qui souhaiterait la découvrir. Ils viennent d'ailleurs s'ajouter à la batterie de références dont on disposait déjà: le célèbre

89 Bikélas, *De Nicopolis à Olympie*.
90 Sarcey, 'Les Livres', 619–620.
91 Daurès, 'Les fouilles de Délos' et 'Les fouilles d'Olympie'.

guide Joanne, publié à partir de 1861[92] ainsi que les articles sur la Grèce du *Grand dictionnaire universel* de Pierre Larousse, publié entre la fin de l'Empire et le début de la III[e] République.[93]

L'engouement pour la culture antique, toujours persistant en cette fin du XIX[e] siècle, transparaît dans les 'Lettres athéniennes' du comte Charles de Moüy (1834–1922),[94] alors en poste à la Légation d'Athènes. On y trouve ce qui constitue d'habitude le noyau d'un récit de voyage en Grèce: des descriptions des sites antiques de la ville, notamment de l'Acropole et des autres monuments, l'ensemble ponctué d'appréciations et méditations personnelles. Retenons sa volonté de souligner l'unité historique de ces lieux: 'L'existence antique et l'existence moderne forment ici, pour moi, un tout indivisible, un ensemble d'idées et de choses, car l'Athènes actuelle ne s'est pas isolée de sa grande aïeule'.[95] Il note également la variété et la diversité de la culture hellénique, celle de la Grèce archaïque et de la Grèce byzantine qu'il découvre lors d'un périple dans le Péloponnèse.[96] Dans son récit sur les Cyclades, le goût du pittoresque se mêle au regard du diplomate qui rappelle la présence d'une importante communauté catholique dans les îles et le travail des missions catholiques dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la charité, grâce auquel la France réussit à 'développer l'expansion pacifique de son génie'.[97]

Il ne s'agit donc plus de dépeindre uniquement des monuments. Dans les récits insérés dans la *NR* l'intérêt des voyageurs est déplacé vers d'autres aspects. Lorsque Louis Richard livre, en 1893, ses notes d'un voyage dans la plaine de la Thessalie, le lecteur peut trouver une variété d'informations sur cette région récemment rattachée à l'État grec. Quoique toujours porteuse des stigmates de son passé ottoman, elle fait preuve d'un grand dynamisme, passant rapidement à la modernité, à l'image de l'Europe: le trajet facilité par le chemin de fer, les hôtels et les services aux voyageurs, les habitants qui adoptent la mode européenne, les perspectives de développement économique des villes majeures de la Thessalie, le 'grenier de la Grèce', tout était présenté sous un jour favorable de manière à attirer les futurs visiteurs.[98]

Ce sont enfin les beautés des îles et la nature resplendissante de la Grèce continentale qui séduisent les visiteurs. En 1896, Marie-Anne de

92 Stiastna, *La Grèce moderne dans les Guides-Joanne et les Guides bleus*.
93 Bodiou, 'La Grèce, un voyage nécessaire au XIX[e] siècle?'
94 Il est aussi l'auteur du guide Hachette sur Athènes, paru en 1892.
95 Moüy, 'Lettres athéniennes. Autour de l'Acropole', 226.
96 Moüy, 'Autour du Péloponnèse'.
97 Moüy, 'Voyages. Promenade dans les Cyclades', 231.
98 Richard, 'En Thessalie'.

Bovet déplore le fait que 'La Grèce n'est visitée que par des humanistes ou des archéologues, qu'hypnotise la vision de l'antique au point de les rendre aveugles sur le présent et qui, en demandant aux marbres morts des secrets millénaires, oublient d'écouter ce que chante la nature très vivante'.[99] La voyageuse et ses compagnes de route font le choix délibéré de contourner Athènes, devenue en 1896 grâce aux Jeux olympiques le point d'intérêt de tous les visiteurs européens, et d'emprunter la route pour le Péloponnèse à la découverte du pays 'non pas dans des atours de fête, mais dans son intimité et le train de sa vie journalière'.[100] On est loin de la contemplation des monuments de l'Antiquité, le ton est désormais à la recherche de l'authenticité.

Alors que les finances de la Grèce souffrent à l'étranger d'une très mauvaise réputation, Trikoupis accepte – quoique à contrecœur – la proposition du baron Pierre de Courbertin de ressusciter, en 1896, les Jeux olympiques dans leur pays de naissance.[101] Si cette fête restaure le culte de la Grèce classique, elle est aussi l'occasion de projeter à l'étranger l'image d'un pays régénéré, résolument moderne et ouvert sur l'Europe et ceci dans un climat d'une rare manifestation d'unité nationale malgré la condition économique déplorable.[102] Le pari semble avoir été gagné. Comme le note avec satisfaction Raoul Fabens,[103] envoyé spécial de la *NR* à Athènes, qui relate d'innombrables impressions et de détails sur l'organisation et le déroulement des jeux, tous les témoins 'ont rapporté dans leur pays une opinion favorable des Grecs et de leur avenir'.[104]

Pour conclure

Durant les deux dernières décennies du XIX[e] siècle, Juliette Adam, devenue ambassadrice officieuse de la Grèce, mobilise les derniers amis des Grecs en France et des Grecs de la diaspora, reçoit et diffuse à travers sa revue des nouvelles, favorise la circulation des œuvres et des idées mais surtout encourage le peuple grec dans la poursuite des revendications nationales. Même si elle est fascinée dans ses écrits littéraires par la conception

99 Bovet, 'La Jeune Grèce I', 268. Ce récit sera publié en volume en 1897.

100 Bovet, 'La Jeune Grèce III', 91.

101 Étienne et Étienne, 'Les Jeux Olympiques de 1896'.

102 Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, 255–271.

103 Fabens, rédacteur du *Journal des Débats*, était envoyé spécial de la *NR* à Athènes et fut, par la suite, le secrétaire du premier Comité olympique français.

104 Fabens, 'Les Jeux olympiques à Athènes', 601.

académique de la Grèce que lui inspiraient ses amis parnassiens, et si elle y puise le fondement de sa pensée, sa prédilection va certainement à la Grèce moderne pour laquelle elle revendique un rôle différent. Elle souhaite la montrer telle qu'elle est, indépendamment de toute comparaison consciente ou inconsciente avec l'Antiquité.

À une époque où le philhellénisme littéraire de la première moitié du siècle avait exhalé son dernier souffle, elle construit un philhellénisme politique que la *NR* suivra sans faille. Sa revue devient un rempart contre les détracteurs de la Grèce, surtout lorsque les relations diplomatiques avec la France, déjà fragiles, se détériorent. Une nouvelle image de la Grèce, sentinelle de l'Europe en Orient, se dessine grâce aux contributions des collaborateurs de la revue. Ces publicistes, à mi-chemin entre écrivains et journalistes, leur directrice en tête, s'engagent à démentir les dénigrements systématiques auxquels la Grèce est confrontée. Parallèlement, la *NR* contribue, bien qu'à une moindre échelle, à promouvoir la littérature néo-hellénique naissante. La ténacité de Juliette Adam dans la poursuite de son but, qui se maintient au-delà de 1899, les nombreux contacts qu'elle entretient avec les milieux philhellènes de Paris et ses interventions dans la presse française en faveur de la Grèce lui ont valu la reconnaissance du monde grec.

En 1901, elle décide de faire le voyage en Grèce qu'elle envisageait depuis longtemps. Elle y fut partout chaleureusement accueillie, suivie à chaque pas par une foule d'admirateurs et de curieux. Ce phénomène suscita d'ailleurs le commentaire ironique d'Albert Thibaudet qui écrit à ce propos: 'En ces temps de sa gloire extérieure, le rayonnement de Mme Adam était tel qu'elle voyagea dans le Péloponnèse en des trains spéciaux remplis de fleurs, parmi des acclamations délirantes, au milieu d'une population persuadée que la République l'envoyait en Grèce la Crète dans une main et la Macédoine dans l'autre'.[105] Et lorsqu'elle meurt, en 1936, la presse hellénique salue une grande amie de la Grèce, celle qui 'symbolise le philhellénisme dans sa manifestation la plus pure et la plus enthousiaste, une des premières femmes qui ont soutenu avec un fanatisme juvénile les lettres néohelléniques en France'.[106]

Grâce à la constitution d'un vaste réseau de politiciens, hommes de lettres et intellectuels, grâce à son inlassable activité, et au dialogue initié à travers sa revue, Juliette Adam peut se compter parmi les médiateurs qui ont enrichi les transferts culturels franco-helléniques à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle.

105 Thibaudet, *Les images de Grèce*, 174–175.
106 Pratsikas, 'Juliette Adam'.

Bibliographie

Sources primaires

Adam, Juliette,[107] *Mes premières armes littéraires et politiques*, (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1904).
—, [Lamber, Juliette], *Laide* (Paris: Calmann Lévy et Librairie Nouvelle, 1878).
—, [Lamber Juliette], *Grecque* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1879).
—, [Lamber Juliette], *Poètes grecs contemporains* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1881).
—, [Lamber Juliette (Madame Adam)], *Païenne* (Paris: P. Ollendorf, 1883).
—, Lettres sur la politique extérieure, *La Nouvelle Revue*, 95(juillet-août 1895), 805–812.
—, 'La Crète', *Le Petit Marseillais*, 29e année, 1er juin 1896, no 10230, 1; 31 août 1896, no 10321, 1.
—, 'L'autonomie en Crète', *Le Petit Marseillais*, 30e année, 17 avril 1897, no 10549, 1.
—, *Parole française à l'étranger*, 2e année, no 11, 21 mars 1901, 321–358.
Bikélas, D[imitrios]., *De Nicopolis à Olympie. Lettres à un ami* (Paris: Paul Ollendorf, 1885).
Burnouf, Émile, 'La prononciation du grec', *Revue des Deux mondes*, 99 (juin 1890), 619–642.
Fonds Juliette Adam, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, NAF 28140.
Fonds Jean Psichari, Bibliothèque du Parlement hellénique, Correspondance, dossier II, 1, f. 17–68.
Psichari, Jean, *Το ταξίδι μου* [Mon Voyage] (Athènes: Imprimerie S.K. Vlastos, 1888)

Articles parus dans la *Nouvelle Revue*
(dans cette liste ne sont pas incluses les 'Lettres sur la politique extérieure' par Juliette Adam)
Antonopoulos, S[tamatios], 'Bonaparte et la Grèce', 60 (septembre–octobre 1889), 254-261.
Bave, Baronne de, 'Au mont Hymette', 106 (mai–juin 1897), 142.
Bikélas, D[imitrios], 'Les Grecs aux conciles de Bâle et de Florence', 16 (mai–juin 1882), 437–450.
—, 'La Grèce avant 1821', 26 (janvier–février 1884), 129-154.
—, 'Philippe Marthas, nouvelle grecque', 42 (septembre–octobre 1886), 806–824.
—, 'Vingt-cinq années de règne constitutionnel en Grèce', 57 (mars–avril 1889), 492-519.
—, 'L'empereur Nicéphore Phocas', 65 (juillet–août 1890), 733–746.

107 Nous signalons entre crochets le nom sous lequel sont publiés certains ouvrages de Juliette Adam.

—, 'Livres. Un Poète ionien [G. Marcoras]', 67 (novembre–décembre 1890), 436–438.
Bizyénos, G[eorgios]-M. 'Le péché de ma mère', 21 (mars–avril 1883), 632–653.
Bovet, Marie-Anne de, 'La Jeune Grèce I', 103 (novembre–décembre 1896) 268–293; 'La Jeune Grèce II', 103 (novembre–décembre 1896) 502–526; 'La Jeune Grèce III', 104 (janvier–février 1897), 91–113 [= Anne-Marie de Bovet, *La Jeune Grèce* (Paris: L.-Henry May, 1897)].
Brissaud, S., 'Offrande à la Grèce', 107 (juillet–août 1897), 723–725.
Chalot, Comte de, 'En yacht au pays de la guerre gréco-turque', 108 (septembre–octobre 1897), 480–497 et 694–713.
Coubertin, Pierre de, 'Un mensonge historique', 105 (mars–avril 1897), 243–248.
Daurès, Gabriel, 'Les fouilles de Délos', 6 (1880), 297–316.
—, 'Les fouilles d'Olympie', 8 (1881), 31–54.
Démitriadis, 'Le Protocole XIII du traité de Berlin', 1 (septembre-octobre 1879) 186-191.
Doublet, Georges, 'La Crète martyre', 105 (mars–avril 1897), 762–770.
Fabens, Raoul, 'Les Jeux olympiques à Athènes', 100 (mai–juin 1896), 587–602
—, 'Sport [Les Jeux olympiques, lettre d'Athènes]', 221.
Fournier-Lefort, J., 'Les écoles helléniques en Égypte', 79 (novembre-décembre 1892), 151-158.
Gaffarel, Paul, 'Les îles Ioniennes pendant la première occupation française', 11 (juillet–août 1881), 523–548.
Lamber, Juliette, 'Poètes grecs contemporains', École ionienne, 3 (1880), 368–377; 4 (1880), 839–860; École de Constantinople, 6 (1880), 852–883; École d'Athènes, 8 (1881), 628–659; École épirote, 9 (1881), 370–411.
Lascaris, Mme H., 'La charité de la reine Olga et les femmes grecques', 83 (juin–juillet 1893), 815–822.
Moüy, Comte Charles de, 'Lettres athéniennes. Les Propylées et le Parthénon', 38 (janvier–février 1886), 463–493.
—, 'Lettres athéniennes. Autour de l'Acropole', 42 (septembre–octobre 1886), 225–254.
—, 'Voyages. Promenade dans les Cyclades', 65 (juillet–août 1890), 225–247.
—, 'Autour du Péloponnèse', 70 (mai–juin 1891), 469–492.
Psichari, Jean, 'La science et les destinées nouvelles de la poésie', 26 (janvier–février 1884), 790–818.
—, 'Quelques mots sur l'orthographe', 59 (juillet–août 1889), 144–148.
—, 'La Vie renaissante', 61 (novembre–décembre 1889), 797–804.
—, 'La prononciation du grec', 65 (juillet–août 1890), 57–78.
—, 'Jalousie', 72 (septembre–octobre 1891), 804–820.
—, 'Jalousie (2e partie)', 73 (novembre–décembre 1891), 139–152.
—, 'Religion et irréligion', 82 (mai–juin 1893), 719–734.
—, 'Les Arméniens, les Crétois et l'Europe', 106 (mai–juin 1897), 55–70.

Richard, Louis, 'En Thessalie', 85 (novembre–décembre 1893), 463–488.
Rodocanachi E[mmanuel], 'Chronique historique' [= Bikélas, *La Grèce byzantine et moderne*], 83 (juin–juillet 1893), 170.
—, 'Les îles Ioniennes pendant l'occupation française 1797–1799 (I et II)', 112 (mai–juin 1898) 438–453 et 595–610; 'Les îles Ioniennes pendant l'occupation française 1797-1799 (III et IV)', 113 (juillet–août 1898), 76–89 et 315–329 [= E. Rodocanachi, *Bonaparte et les îles Ioniennes* (*1797–1816*) (Paris, F. Alcan, 1899)].
Sarcey, Francisque, 'Les Livres [= Bikélas, *De Nicopolis à Olympie*]', 35 (juillet–août 1885), 618–622.
S. L., 'La diplomatie européenne dans le conflit gréco-turc', 107 (juillet–août 1897), 618–627.
Stéphanopoli, A[ntonios]-Z[annetakis], 'En Grèce', 103 (novembre–décembre 1896) 84–97 [= *Le facteur grec dans le problème oriental* (Athènes, Imprimerie Anestis Constantinidis, 1896].
Türr, Général [Étienne], 'Question d'Orient', 1 (octobre 1879), 56–65.
Vlasto, A[ntoine].D., 'La Grèce en 1884', 34 (mai–juin 1885), 263–289.

Sources secondaires

About, Edmond, *La Grèce contemporaine* (Paris: Hachette 1854).
Adde Brigitte (dir.), *Et, c'est moi, Juliette! Madame Adam* (*1836–1936*) (Édition de la Saga, Société des Amis de Gif et d'Alentour, 1988).
Agostini, Aldo D', 'L'*agency* de Juliette Adam (1836–1936)', *Rives méditerranéennes*, 41 (2012): mis en ligne le 28 février 2013 [URL: http://journals.openedition.org/rives/4141; DOI: 10.4000/rives.4141] (consulté le 20 avril 2019).
Basch, Sophie, *Le Mirage grec. La Grèce moderne devant l'opinion française* (*1846–1946*) (Athènes: Hatier-Kauffmann, 1995).
Bodiou, Lydie, 'La Grèce, un voyage nécessaire au XIX^{e} siècle? Espoir et désenchantement dans le *Grand Dictionnaire universel* de Pierre Larousse' in *Terres marines,* dir. Frédéric Chauvaud et Jacques Péret (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006), 315–322. [http://books.openedition.org/pur/20469] (consulté le 20 avril 2019).
Boutouras, Athanasios, *Ιστορία του ζητήματος της προφοράς της ελληνικής γλώσσης και των σχετικών αγώνων των φιλολόγων* [Histoire de la question de la prononciation de la langue grecque et des luttes des philologues] (Athènes: Imprimerie Paraskeva Leoni, 1920).
Constandulaki-Chantzou, Ioanna, *Jean Psichari et les lettres françaises* (Athènes, 1982).
Cormier, Manon, *Madame Juliette Adam ou l'aurore de la III^{e} République* (Bordeaux: Delmas, 1934).

Desonay, Fernand, *Le rêve hellénique chez les poètes parnassiens* (Genève: Slatkine reprints, 1974 [1928]).

Diatsentos, Petros, *La question de la langue dans les milieux des savants grecs au XIX^e^ siècle. Projets linguistiques et réformes,* Thèse de doctorat (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales [EHESS], 2009).

Doublet, Georges, 'La Crète autonome', *Revue des études grecques*, 10:37 (1897), 71–81.

Étienne, Françoise et Étienne, Roland, 'Les Jeux Olympiques de 1896: réflexions sur une renaissance', *Études balkaniques*, 11 (2004), 33–60.

Flaubert, Gustave, *Œuvres Complètes*, tome 16 (*Correspondance 1877-1880*) (Paris: Club de l'Honnête Homme, 1975).

Hilgar, Marie-France, 'Juliette Adam et la *Nouvelle Revue*'. *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature*, 51: 2 (1997), 11–18. [doi:10.2307/1348097] (consulté le 20 avril 2019).

Hogenhuis-Seliverstoff, Anne, *Juliette Adam (1836–1936). L'Instigatrice* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001).

Kale, Steven, *French Salons. High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

Konstandellias, Haralambos, *Δημήτριος Βικέλας. Άτυπος πρεσβευτής των εθνικών θεμάτων και των ελληνικών γραμμάτων* [Dimitrios Bikélas. Un ambassadeur informel de la cause nationale et des lettres grecques] (Athènes: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 2018).

Koubourlis, Giannis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές των Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου και Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλου. Η συμβολή Ελλήνων και ξένων λογίων στη διαμόρφωση του τρίσημου σχήματος του ελληνικού ιστορισμού (1782–1846)* [La dette historiographique de Sp. Zambélios et K. Paparrigopoulos. La contribution des érudits grecs et étrangers à la formation du schéma triadique de l'historicisme grec (1782–1846)] (Athènes: NHRF, 2012).

Lemaître, Jules, 'Le néo-hellénisme. À propos des romans de Juliette Lamber (Mme Adam)', *Revue politique et littéraire*, 24 (15 décembre 1883) 737–745 [= 'Le néo-hellénisme. À propos des romans de Juliette Lamber (Mme Adam)', *Les Contemporains*, (Paris, 1890), 129–164].

Liste des autorités, professeurs, étudiants et assistants de l'Université de Genève, semestre d'hiver 1884–1885, (Genève: Charles Schuchardt, 1884).

Martin-Fugier, Anne, *Les Salons de la III^e^ République. Art, littérature, politique* (Paris: Perrin, coll. Tempus, 2003).

Mitsou, Marie-Élisabeth, 'Négoce et transfert culturel. Dimitrios Bikélas et le réseau intellectuel franco-grec dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e^ siècle', *Rives méditerranéennes,* 50:1 (2015), 13–25.

Morcos, Saad, *Juliette Adam* (Beyrouth: Dar Al-Malef, 1962).

Oikonomou, Alexandros Ar., *Τρεις Άνθρωποι. Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν του ελληνικού λαού (1780–1935)* [Trois hommes. Contribution à l'histoire du peuple grec], 2, *Δημήτριος Βικέλας* [Dimitrios Bikélas] (Athènes: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 1953).

Politis, Alexis, 'Από τον Φωριέλ στην Ιουλιέττα Λαμπέρ-Αδάμ: η παρουσία της ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στα γαλλικά γράμματα', in *Ελλάδα και Γαλλία τον 19ο αιώνα: πρακτικά συνεδρίου/La France et la Grèce au XIX^e siècle: Actes du colloque*, dir. Evangelos Chryssos et Christophe Farnaud (Athènes: Fondation du Parlement hellénique pour le Parlementarisme et la Démocratie, 2012), 143–166.

Pratsikas, Giorgos, 'Juliette Adam', *Νέα Εστία* [Néa Hestia], 20: 234 (1936), 1303–1304.

Provata, Despina, 'Écrire en français en Grèce au XIX^e siècle', *Écrivains grecs de langue française. Nouvelles du Sud*, 13 (1990), 13–25.

—, 'La Grèce de Juliette Adam: écrits littéraires et vision politique', *Revue des études néo-helléniques*, 3 (2007), 63–76.

—, 'Η Ελληνική ως διεθνής γλώσσα: μια ουτοπική πρόταση του Gustave d'Eichthal' [Le grec en tant que langue internationale. Une proposition utopique de Gustave d'Eichthal], in *Πρακτικά 1^ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου. Η γλώσσα σε έναν κόσμο που αλλάζει* [Actes du premier colloque international. La langue dans un monde qui change], dir. E. Leontaridi – K. Spanopoulou *et al.* (Athènes: Université nationale et capodistrienne d'Athènes, 2008), 447–453.

—, 'Η συμβολή του Δημητρίου Βικέλα στις διαπολιτισμικές σχέσεις Ελλάδας-Γαλλίας' [La contribution de Dimitrios Bikélas dans les relations interculturelles franco-helléniques], *Η Μελέτη* [L'Étude], 5 (2010), 429–460.

Stavrianos, L. S., *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: NYU Press, 2000).

Stephens, Winifred, *Madame Adam* (*Juliette Lamber*)*, la Grande Française: From Louis-Philippe until 1917* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1917).

Stiastna, Blanka, *La Grèce moderne dans les Guides-Joanne et les Guides bleus: 1861–1959* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2016).

Thibaudet, Albert, *Les images de Grèce* (Paris: Messein, 1926).

Varelas, Lambros, *Μετά θάρρους ανησυχίαν εμπνέοντος: η κριτική πρόσληψη του Γ.Μ. Βιζυηνού (1873–1896)* [Osant inspirer l'inquiétude: la réception critique de G.M. Bizéynos (1873–1896)] (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2014).

About the author

Despina Provata is Professor of History of French Civilization at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, specialising in the cultural transfers between France and Greece in the nineteenth century. She has participated in numerous research programmes on translation history and cultural

transfers through the press while she was the scientific supervisor of a research project on Victor Hugo in the Greek world. She has published monographs, co-edited collective volumes, chapters for books and several scientific articles on her research interests that include comparative literature, the history of ideas, cultural transfers between France and Greece, translation studies, the history of the French language and the Greek francophone press. Main publications: *Etienne-Marin Bailly. A Saint-Simonian in revolutionary Greece* (Athens, 2008, in Greek); *La culture dans l'enseignement du français. Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde*, 60/61 (December 2018, editor). Email: dprovata@frl.uoa.gr.

5. Medieval and modern Greece in the *Academy*

Georgia Gotsi

Abstract
This chapter's central concern is the search for the imprint of medieval and modern Greece in the high-culture British periodical press from the 1870s to the beginnings of the twentieth century through a case study of the *Academy* (1869–1916). Drawing on its progressive spirit and intellectual authority, the *Academy* displayed a serious scholarly interest in contemporary research on the language, literature and history of the Greeks beyond classical times to the present. A systematic investigation of its contents demonstrates the role exercised by a few of its contributors in the dissemination to the British educated public of such new knowledge. From this standpoint, the *Academy* served as a vehicle of late philhellenism: it promoted the idea of the continuum of Greek culture since ancient times while showing a considerable interest, distinct from that devoted to classical Hellas, in the study of the post-antique and contemporary Greek worlds.

Keywords: Medieval and modern Greek literature, Hellas, British periodicals, cultural mediation of modern Greece, philhellenism and philhellenes

[N]ow that questions relating to that country [modern Greece] occupy such a large part in the public mind, and are so freely discussed in the newspapers, there are many persons who will be glad to learn something more about its antecedents, to receive trustworthy information about its present condition, and to be able to judge for themselves whether the Greek kingdom is really the 'spoilt child of Europe', and whether the

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH05

> enthusiasm of fifty years ago in its favour, which was aroused throughout Europe by the War of Independence, was anything more than a fit of unreasoning sentiment.[1]

So claims an 1880 review of R.C. Jebb's *Modern Greece* in the 'Current Literature' section of the London literary and scientific journal *The Academy* (1869–1916). Undoubtedly, in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, several factors combined to arouse public discussion in Britain of Greek matters, past and present: the political entanglements of the Eastern Question, ethnic rivalry in the Balkans, sore points in the Greek state's finances and administration (the Dilessi murders in 1870) as well as its attempts for expansion (rebellions in Ottoman-ruled Crete, Epirus and Macedonia, agitation over Thessaly and the Greco-Turkish War of 1897). Mixed sentiments characterised British public opinion towards modern Greeks, often verging on disdain or hostility.[2] This is clearly discernible in R.W. Hanbury's influential essay 'The Spoilt Child of Europe' alluded to by the *Academy*'s unnamed reviewer, which had appeared a few months after the Treaty of Berlin (1878) in the monthly London magazine *The Nineteenth Century*. Rebuking Greece's aspirations for an enlargement of its borders, the Conservative politician cast doubt on the claim that the people living upon Greek soil were descendants of the 'old Hellenes', pointed to the unsatisfactory progress of the young kingdom and warned against the superficiality of appeals to its illustrious ancestry.[3]

The British perception of modern Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century has preoccupied historical research on Anglo-Greek political relations and on the evolution of philhellenism as an ideological movement[4]; it has also been discussed in the context of literary reflections

I am indebted to Peter Mackridge and David Ricks for their valuable suggestions.

1 Unsigned, 'Current literature' (1880), 470.

2 On the mixed British reactions to modern Greece since the 1850s, see Holland, *The Warm South*, 182–183, Hionides, 'Exporting a prince', and, more generally, Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, esp. 1–12. Cf. Basch, *Le Mirage grec*, esp. 234–235, 238, on the French disillusionment with Greece in the decades following the Crimean War.

3 Hanbury, 'The spoilt child of Europe', 939. For earlier references to the same expression by nineteenth-century Greek scholars, see Kostis, *'Τα κακομαθημένα παιδιά της Ιστορίας'*, 21. In English texts of this period, the terms 'old' and 'new' Greece sometimes supplement, or are preferred to the terms 'ancient' and 'modern' Greece; a telling example is Lewis Sergeant's *New Greece* (1878).

4 See, for example, Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, Hionides, 'Exporting a prince', and Tolias, 'The resilience', who surveys the various meanings of the term 'philhellenism' (esp. 55 and 57 on British philhellenism). Specifically on mid- and late-nineteenth-century British philhellenism, see Miliori, 'Europe', and Hionides, 'Philhellenism'.

on modern Greece and Lord Byron's pervasive influence on the British imagination.[5] Nonetheless, it has received less attention in examinations of British intellectual life; still, as the *Academy*'s implicit response to Hanbury's vigorous attack suggests, the definition of modern Hellas constituted an object of contention in Victorian thought.

This essay aims to contribute to the investigation of the British perception of Greece in the late Victorian era when the philhellenic enthusiasm of the early decades of the century had eroded as 'no new Sophocles had sprung to light from the new-ploughed Hellas'.[6] My approach to the topic goes beyond the existing literature as it shifts the focus of analysis to the British periodical press. The choice of the *Academy* as a source for this case study is not random. Discussions of modern Greece at the time reveal a revitalised interest in the evolution of the Greek world which fell within the orbit of high-culture Victorian journals such as *The Academy*, *The Athenaeum* or *The Saturday Review*, seeking to provide their readers with a serious and diverse learning experience, especially with regard to foreign nations close to the British Empire's periphery.

The examination of the *Academy* undertaken here highlights the periodical's role in the dissemination of new knowledge concerning the language, literature and history of the Greeks from post-classical times to the contemporary era. From this standpoint, the *Academy* reflects the vision of 'late' European philhellenism,[7] which, as previous studies have indicated, and other chapters in the present volume also show in detail, had a common scholarly foundation. In the British cultural scene of the last three decades of the century, this form of positive commitment to the Greek nation sought to investigate its cultural identity without endorsing a sentimental remembrance of Hellas, neither accepting wholesale the Greek kingdom's claims of cultural predominance over other Balkan peoples, nor unreservedly supporting its irredentist visions.

5 Mainly Roessel, *In Byron's Shadow*.

6 Unsigned, '"Tis Greece"', 127. Writing in 1901, with reference to the second edition of Jebb's *Modern Greece*, this later reviewer refers to the British disappointment with Greece in the years following the Berlin Congress, as reflected in the opening quotation.

7 Tolias refers to a 'waning philhellenism' between 1870 and 1920, which stressed Greek humanistic culture ('The resilience', 70) whereas Mitsou traces a sympathetic attitude towards the Greeks among French, German and Dutch intellectuals in the last quarter of the nineteenth century ('Δίκτυα', 323; cf. 'Négoce', 24). Miliori sees in mid- and late-nineteenth-century Britain 'the gradual emergence of a new type of philhellenism, which reaffirmed the European relevance of modern Greek nationality while situating it in a restricted regional context' and which 'encouraged pro-Greek attitudes', that 'were either "external" to Hellenism as such' or even anti-classical ('Europe', 70 and 71).

The Academy

The *Academy* (1869–1916), founded in 1869 by the young Oxford philosopher Charles Edward Appleton, began as a monthly journal; subsequently, it became a fortnightly and from 1874 until 1915, a weekly review. Initially 'dominated by reform-minded Oxford academics' who advanced an evolutionist view of culture, the periodical participated in the 'liberal enterprise' of raising the level of English intellectual life.[8] It aspired to the ideal of universal knowledge contributing to the development of the human mind and the forging of bonds between nations.[9] Its policy was to survey a wide spectrum of publications and activities in all fields of learning with emphasis placed on continental literature, in a specialised and impartial manner: it contained astute reviews of European books and offered up-to-date coverage of the international scientific, literary and artistic scene while providing a comparative approach to scholarship, literary tendencies and aesthetic trends. In this context, the *Academy* systematically provided information on the language, history and culture of the Greek-speaking world in a variety of formats: lengthy signed book reviews, minor notices included in the 'Magazines and Reviews' section, travel impressions, obituaries, miscellaneous news appearing in the 'Notes and News', 'Intelligence', 'Meetings of Societies' and 'Correspondence' sections or under special rubrics such as 'The Museums of Athens', 'Letter from Athens', 'Notes from Athens', and book advertisements. This interest gradually receded after 1896 as the connections between the periodical and the academic world were weakened.[10]

The amount of scholarly attention devoted in its pages to medieval and modern Greece matched with the *Academy*'s intellectual authority and progressive spirit as it was enmeshed within the journal's wider scientific engagement with the question of cultural evolution. Writers and scholars who were considered experts in the field, or had first-hand experience of the country, its language and its people, were invited to offer their critical judgements and knowledge. Their writings were aimed at specialists but also at well-educated readers, all of whom were expected to be able to read phrases and excerpts printed in the original Greek in the periodical's

8 Reid, 'The *Academy*', 263.

9 Reid, 'The *Academy*', 263–265, and Beer, 'The *Academy*'. For accounts of the periodical's history and character, see Roll-Hansen, *The Academy*; Kent, *'Academy, The'*; and Brake, 'From critic to literary critic'.

10 Roll-Hansen, *The Academy*, 201. For the periodical's different shapes and character in the last 20 years of its life, *ibidem*, 215–221, Beer, 'The *Academy*', 194–195, and Kent, *'Academy, The'*, 4–6, who further details the 'resurrection' of the title in 1920–1922.

columns.[11] Contributors such as the German scholar of classical, medieval and early modern Greek literature and Elizabethan drama Wilhelm Wagner (1843–1880), the classical scholar, geographer, traveller, Exeter College tutor and founding member of the British Academy Rev. H.F. Tozer (1829–1916), and the writer and translator Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds (baptised 1821, died 1907), sustained a long-term collaboration with the periodical.[12] Other experts offered occasional pieces on specific modern Greek subjects, such as J. Dionysius Loverdo, a little known writer from the Ionian Islands (the Heptanese),[13] the aesthete composer and poet Theo Marzials (1850–1920), the fellow and librarian of Exeter College, Oxford, Charles William Boase (1828–1895), and the professor of Greek at Glasgow and from 1889 Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge Richard Claverhouse Jebb (1841–1905). The issues discussed included the history of the Greek language, its dialects, the reform of the English pronunciation of ancient Greek to align with that of the modern Greeks, the folklore of the Greek people, their history and literature in medieval and modern times, recent archaeological expeditions, interesting archaeological finds as well as the social condition and life of contemporary Greeks.

To fully describe such a vast and diverse corpus of material is beyond the scope of this essay. Here, I have largely focused on four contributors who exhibited an interest in medieval, modern and contemporary Greek culture and had close ties with Greek intellectuals of their time. Tozer, from the first issue of the *Academy* in October 1869 until 1895, reviewed, among other books, international publications on Byzantine, Ottoman and modern Greece: travel writings, guides, editions of 'medieval' texts, histories, fiction, poetry anthologies, and folklore studies. He also published in serial form his 'Notes of a Tour in the Cyclades and Crete' (1875) as well as his 'Notes of a Tour in the Asiatic Greek Islands' (1886) which were reprinted with modifications and additions in his volume *The Islands of the Aegean* (Oxford, 1890). Wagner, who wrote consistently for the journal between 1870 and 1874, chiefly reviewed recent publications on medieval Greece.[14]

11 On the periodical's anticipated audience, see Beer, 'The *Academy*', 184–189.

12 Regarding Tozer and Edmonds, see the entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

13 I was unable to find biographical information on J. Dionysius Loverdo. He is probably the poet Ioannis D. Loverdos, who published two poetry collections in demotic Greek in London (1870, 1872), and to whom I refer below.

14 From Wagner's correspondence with Dimitrios Bikelas we learn that the Greek diaspora intellectual provided him with books and texts on which he commented and encouraged Wagner to review them in the *Academy* (see Konstantellias, *Δημήτριος Βικέλας*, esp. 255–334). In his letter of 1 February 1874, Wagner complained to Bikelas that as the *Academy* stopped being

Edmonds's contributions to the *Academy* began in 1883, three years after her return from a short sojourn in Greece,[15] and ended in 1896. Since she had no academic education, her acceptance in the journal's circle was most probably due to her specialisation in modern Greek matters and her personal involvement with members of the Greek diaspora. Edmonds was allowed a decreasing amount of space in its pages compared to Tozer and Wagner. Over a decade, she published two anniversary poems in the philhellenic spirit (one on the centenary of Byron's birth and a second on the Marathon race in the first modern Olympic Games of 1896); three short articles on modern Greek folklore; a shorter comment on the objections raised to the performance of Sophocles's *Antigone* planned for the 1896 Olympics (noteworthy for Edmonds's support of the modern Greek pronunciation in the staging of ancient drama)[16]; a translation of a poem by Ioulios (Julius) Typaldos (1814–1883) following his death, and six obituaries of significant Greek men of letters.[17] Finally, Loverdo appears to have written in the *Academy* only three times (once in 1879 and twice in 1883) on topics restricted to the Ionian Islands.

The history of the Greek language

The *Academy* featured systematic coverage of the latest research on the historical development of the Greek language as part of its fundamental interest in the 'Science of Language'.[18] The relation of modern to ancient Greek occupied nineteenth-century European philologists in the context of comparative linguistics and the Indo-European theory.[19] The gradual change of attitudes towards the Byzantine Empire which by the mid-nineteenth century had begun to be freed from previous negative assessments turned all the more scholarly attention to the historical development of Greek.

'so "wissenschaftlich"', its new editor might not 'desire any more contributions' from him; still, on 16 February, he happily announced to his friend: 'they have asked me to continue my articles on modern Greek publications' (*ibidem*, 278 and 279).

15 Her impressions from this sojourn in Athens of 1880 are described in her travelogue *Fair Athens* (1881), in which she recounts how she learned modern Greek living in the house of an Athenian upper middle-class family. See Assinder, '"Reading the gray sky"'.

16 Edmonds, 'The "Antigone"'.

17 To these items should be added two more notes on other language issues: 'Glossary of the Cornish dialect' (1886) and '"Mort," "Amort"' (1887).

18 Beer, 'The *Academy*', 189.

19 Diatsentos, *La question*, esp. 53–54.

According to the narrative elaborated primarily by the Greek national historians Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos,[20] Byzantium was the integral medieval stage in the continuous evolution of the Greek nation from antiquity to modern times. In the broader context of Byzantium's 'rehabilitation'[21] as a Helleno-Christian entity, linguists and (neo-)Hellenists directed their attention to the nature of Greek in the Middle Ages and early modernity. They ardently engaged in the study of vernacular literature as well as folk poetry and investigated regional dialects so as to address issues of unity and continuity in language use and, thus, to testify to the Greek nation's uninterrupted history and to respond to questions regarding its cultural predominance in the East.[22] For in the aftermath of the Crimean War (1853–1856), the interpretation of Byzantium's cultural identity became an issue of geopolitical importance as Greece's ambitions towards supremacy in the Balkans was challenged by the emerging Bulgarian nationalism and the upsurge of Russian pan-Slavism.

From early in this process, Wilhelm Wagner consistently gave his expert opinion on books devoted to such subjects.[23] Through his reviews, equally characterised by his wide knowledge and demand for scrupulous accuracy, Wagner introduced the periodical's readership to the controversy surrounding the proper form of written Greek language to be adopted by the 'nation'; he referred to the various efforts towards the cultivation of the modern language from the sixteenth century up to Adamantios Korais's (1748–1833) method of enriching and emending the 'corrupted' speech of the Greeks with the use of ancient Greek, and expressed the need for a study of the present state of the language. Moreover, he commented on features of dialects spoken in specific areas of Greece and in Italy and underlined the importance of glossaries and dictionaries of post-classical Greek, such as E.A. Sophocles' *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (1870). His own strong inclination towards the spoken language was frequently apparent in his criticisms of the 'blind Atticists' of his day and his esteem

20 His seminal *History of the Greek Nation* (1860–1874) was noticed in the 'Current Literature' section of *the Academy* of 1876, 539.

21 Mackridge, 'Byzantium', 53, and Kiousopoulou, 'Οι βυζαντινές σπουδές', 27–30.

22 Mackridge, 'Byzantium', 51–53, points to the linguistic attention given earlier by Adamantios Korais to the medieval Greek texts; Diatsentos, *La question*, 199–201, expands on the political dimensions of the issue. Cf. Katsigiannis, Chapter 3 in this volume.

23 A comprehensive account of Wagner's life and intellectual activity with reference to previous biographical work on the author is given in Karathanasis, *Η αρχή*, 11–22. Wagner had lived for six years (1864–1870) in England and had married a British woman (18–19). Like Tozer and Edmonds, he was an honorary member of the Parnassos Philological Society of Athens.

for poets who 'keep alive' the popular idiom such as Aristotelis Valaoritis and Ioulios Typaldos,[24] as well as in the importance he attributed to the recording of popular texts in their authentic form.[25]

The history of Greek was also discussed by other contributors. For instance, R.C. Jebb's 1875 review of John Stuart Blackie's collection of essays *Horae Hellenicae* (1874) was principally devoted to the conviction held by this 'ingenius' classicist and professor of Greek at Edinburgh 'that the language and the literature of ancient Greece are *living*'; Jebb pointed out for his readers Blackie's views on the literary character of the 'Neo-Hellenic language' and 'its relation to Old Greek', namely that it constituted a dialect of ancient Greek.[26]

Tozer, in his reviews, employed a set of expressions to describe the different varieties and historical phases of the spoken language, which suggests that a clear idea of their distinct features had yet to emerge. As he noted, commenting on the first volume of the *Essais de grammaire historique néo-grecque* (1886) by the Greek and French linguist Psycharis (1854–1929, known in French as Jean Psichari), the author sought to 'fix within certain limits the stages of development which the popular, or vulgar, or spoken Greek language (for it is difficult to find any one term which will satisfactorily apply to it throughout its whole course) has passed through from classical times to the present'.[27] His awareness of historical continuity illuminates his stance towards Korais: despite his appreciation of Korais's remarkable scholarship and efforts in 'the regeneration of the Hellenic people', Tozer took issue with his case for the reintroduction of ancient grammatical forms in modern Greek.[28]

Tozer himself was more preoccupied with the survival of forms of ancient dialects in spoken Greek and the origins of the modern tongue.[29] Through his ethnographic lens, he alerted readers to the significance of spoken dialects, idioms and oral culture, especially in remote or isolated places; furthermore, he underlined the urgent need for their collection and comparative study as they were 'being rapidly driven out by the Neo-Hellenic of Athens'.[30]

24 Wagner, 'A history of the modern Greek language'.

25 Wagner, 'Modern Greek miscellany'.

26 Jebb, 'Horae Hellenicae', 68.

27 Tozer, 'The development', 186. Psycharis's study was first published in the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 19 (1885), 1–288.

28 Tozer, 'The life and work of Coray'.

29 Tozer, '*Nouvelles Études*', where he also expresses his interest in the study of Greek in medieval Europe. For the ideological dimensions of the study of Greek regional dialects, see Diatsentos, *La question*, 147–150.

30 Tozer, '*Impressions*', 234.

Linguistic curiosities also motivated Tozer's fascination with popular poetry, particularly with the 'Greek' or 'Romaic ballads' (terms used interchangeably to describe Greek folk songs), or more generally early modern poems in the vernacular and folk tales. Tozer acknowledged the aesthetic qualities of the folk songs but his main concern was with their language. Some of his observations implicitly supported the argument that modern Greeks descended from the ancients, although this was not his primary objective. Thus, he traced in the Cretan poetic compositions edited by Émile Legrand 'peculiarities of dialect, and among them a number of ancient Greek words which are only preserved in that country'.[31]

Tozer was not alone in his interest in dialects. Wagner was more explicit: commenting upon a volume of fairy tales, songs and other 'documents of national speech' compiled by the Parnassos Philological Society of Athens, he emphasised (after the German linguist Michael Deffner) that 'the popular speech of modern Greeks is the strongest evidence in favour of their descent, and that it will be difficult to uphold much longer the well-nigh antiquated theory of a complete extirpation of the Hellenic race, in the face of such linguistic facts as are being gradually collected by the industry of scholars'.[32]

Overall, reviewers in the *Academy* drew a distinction between the 'Romaic' (the language of the ballads or the varieties spoken by the rural folk)[33] and the 'Neo-Hellenic', meaning the written register of the newspapers published mainly in Athens – a 'corrected' modern Greek which city dwellers were becoming accustomed to using in their reading and writing[34] and, gradually, in their speech. Tozer's and Wagner's preference for the former reinforces the impression that European scholars were more attracted by the spoken language, the use of which they supported against the arguments of the 'purists' and the efforts of numerous learned Greeks towards the revival of archaic forms.[35] As Wagner vehemently noted in 1871: '[W]e are glad to find that in spite of the endeavours of the 'λόγιοι' and 'λογιώτατοι',

31 Tozer, 'Greek poetry'.

32 Wagner, 'Modern Greek miscellany', 376.

33 On the use of the term 'Romaic' by French and British Hellenists and its implications, see Diatsentos, *La question*, 255–257. As Mackridge explains, Romaic (ρωμέικα/ρωμαίικα) is how the Greek spoken language 'was known colloquially' in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (*Language*, 51; the term dates from the fourteenth century, *ibidem*, 48 note 57).

34 Cf. Mackridge, *Language*, 167.

35 Cf. Katsigiannis, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών', 136-137.

the unadulterated speech of modern Greece has not yet died out, and is as vigorous as in the days of Christopulos and Solomos.'[36]

That said, Tozer and Wagner went far beyond linguistic comments. The former, for instance, referred to editors, collectors and translators of Greek folk songs and tales (Claude Fauriel, Arnold Passow, Antonios Jeannarakis, Panagiotis Aravantinos, Johann Georg von Hahn, Bernhard Schmidt, G. Georgakis, Léon Pineau and Jean Pio), commented on the various texts' dates, classification and versification, and raised short comparative points regarding their regional variants.[37] Moreover, by recounting the subject matter of poems and ballads, Tozer conveyed to his audience historical details as well as his judgements on various communities of the Greek world. Thus, discussing Émile Legrand's *Recueil de Poëmes historiques en Grec vulgaire* (1877), he informed his readers about uprisings of the inhabitants of Sfakia in eighteenth-century Crete, he castigated 'the iniquitous class of Phanariote Greeks, who obtained influence as agents of the Turkish Government, and ruined their Christian brethren' and commented upon relations between Jews and Greeks of the East.[38]

The Greek 'Middle Ages'

The ideas on Byzantium in the pages of the *Academy* did not necessarily converge. A reviewer such as Boase, for instance, did not distance himself from the Enlightenment view which harshly criticised the moral ethos and despotic behaviour of the Byzantine Emperors, while he also appeared to accept Fallmerayer's theory on the impact of the Slavic settlements in the Peloponnese.[39]

A different view was put forward in two reviews of the German and English translations of Dimitrios Bikelas's essays on the Byzantines (originally *Περί Βυζαντινών* [1874]) which recognised his contribution to an accommodating perception of their world. The unnamed critic of the 'Current Literature' section in 1878 and, again, Tozer in 1891 applauded Bikelas's attempt to rectify the West's persistent dismissive perception of the Byzantine Empire, which had already been abandoned by specialists. Both

36 Unsigned [Wagner, W.], 'Literary notes', with reference to Ioulios (not John, as it is mistakenly written) Typaldos's 'Ωδή εις τον Πατριάρχην Γρηγόριον' [Ode to the Patriarch Gregorius].

37 For this intense interest, see also Tozer's *Researches*.

38 Tozer, 'Greek poetry. Recueil', 588.

39 Boase, 'Sathas' Greek records', 298.

recognised George Finlay's pioneering thinking that had ushered in a more balanced study of Byzantium, as also acknowledged by Bikelas. The earlier reviewer, nonetheless, found less convincing the Greek intellectual's effort to defend the darker sides of Byzantium's leadership and bureaucracy (the political subservience of the upper clergy, the oppressive taxation system, or the non-Greek origins of some of its rulers).[40] More than a decade later, Tozer endorsed the process of Byzantium's rehabilitation wholeheartedly. Accordingly, he went on to welcome the republication of Bikelas's essays in English for the benefit of 'general readers' who 'still require[d] that the correct judgement should be impressed upon them'.[41]

And more generally, Tozer showed a genuine appreciation for the Byzantine world that was reflected in his own publications, notably his edition of George Finlay's revised seven-volume *History of Greece* (1877) and his *The Church and the Eastern Empire* (1888). Other writings by him also suggest that his religious background had sharpened his sensitivity to the Orthodox rite and church architecture.[42] Besides, his deep admiration for Dante, attested by his interest in the poet's translators such as the Ottoman Greek Constantine Musurus Pasha (the Turkish Ambassador to Great Britain) whose rendering of the *Inferno* in an antiquated form of Greek he had reviewed, indicated his attraction towards all aspects of medieval culture.[43]

What is perhaps more significant is that in his review Tozer situated changing opinion on the Byzantine Empire in a wider context, referring to 'Hopf and Hertzberg in Germany, Rambaud in France, Sathas and Paparrhegopoulos among the Greeks, and Mr. Freeman and Mr. Bury among ourselves'.[44] This crucial remark is concordant with the tone of the rest of the journal's materials on medieval and modern Greece: concepts were forged and new lines of research defined as a result of an interaction between West European and Greek scholars, with philhellene thinkers and Hellenists enjoying a leading role.[45]

40 Unsigned, 'Current literature' (1878), 335.

41 Tozer, '*Seven Essays*', 108.

42 See the 'Notes' from his travels published in the *Academy*; also 'Byzantine frescoes' and 'The Church of Sancta Sophia'.

43 Tozer, '*Dante's Inferno*'. Works reflecting the same interest are Tozer's three-volume commentary of *Divina Commedia* (1901) followed by a prose translation of the poem (1904).

44 Tozer, '*Seven Essays*'.

45 Recent Greek scholarship casts light on this point: Koubourlis, in *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές*, has identified contributions by Finlay and other foreign historians with the shift of perspective on Byzantium. He further notes Tozer's positive attitude to it in his prologue to the revised edition of Finlay's *History* (549 note 31). Cf. Diatsentos, *La question*, 244, with reference to the study of medieval and early modern Greek.

In fact, both Wagner and Tozer participated in a small European community of scholars developing since the mid-1860s principally in France and Germany, who took great interest in the literary output of late and post-Byzantine centuries; their focus significantly extending to more recent periods instead of projecting back to antiquity. Its members communicated with each other on scholarly and personal matters, supported and reviewed each other's works, boosted each other's visibility, exchanged ideas, circulated cultural materials, promoted modern Greek letters and fostered their development as a distinct area of study.[46]

With their reviews in the *Academy*, both critics mediated for the journal's readers the intense intellectual labour of French, German and Greek scholars on late Byzantium and early modern Greece and guided them through a vast array of texts, their authors, their available versions, chronology, provenance and generic classification (romances, laments) as well as their metrical traits (rhyme, fifteen-syllable, alias political, verse). Comments on vocabulary or grammatical phenomena were equally present. In certain cases, readers could also taste the flavour of the original, in specimens provided by the reviewers. Thus Wagner, who since 1870 had been informing his readers about the vigorous study of Greek in France, introduced them to the collections of 'the earlier and rarer works in the modern language'[47] prepared by the French neo-Hellenist Émile Legrand (1841–1903) and the Greek scholar Konstantinos N. Sathas (1842–1914); consistently informed them about the historical works of the latter, for whose 'laborious and patriotic undertakings'[48] he had mostly flattering comments[49]; last but not least he familiarised them with the literature of Renaissance Crete.[50] For his part, Tozer repeatedly underlined the difficulties faced by the investigators guiding this research field, such as Wagner, Charles Gidel, Legrand, Sathas and Spyridon Lambros or the German historian Ferdinand Gregorovius, due to the rarity of the available materials and insufficiency of the relevant bibliography.

46 A number of recent studies have focused on the unearthing of this network's scholarly pursuits and activities. See Karathanasis, *Η αρχή*, Papakostas, *O Émile Legrand*, 36–38, Diatsentos, *La question*, and, more recently, Mitsou, 'Négoce et transfert culturel', Mitsou, 'Δίκτυα (νεο) ελληνιστών', Gotsi, 'Οι Νεοέλληνες', Katsigiannis, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων νεοελληνιστών' and Katsigiannis, Chapter 3 in this volume. On earlier interest by French Hellenists in modern Greek language and literature, see Ditsa, 'Οι νεοελληνικές σπουδές'.

47 Wagner, 'Collection de Monuments', 246.

48 Wagner, 'Sathas', 418.

49 Boase, 'Sathas' Greek records', on the other hand, was much more sceptical of the Greek scholar's refutation of Fallmerayer's Slavonic theory.

50 Wagner, 'Erophile', 167.

It is worth emphasising that in conveying up-to-date knowledge of 'medieval'[51] Greek literature, Tozer had both the specialist and the general reader in mind. Thus, introducing Sathas and Legrand's edition of *Digenis Akritas*, Tozer led his readers through the basic episodes of the epic, recommending it as an 'easy and pleasant reading'.[52] In like manner, he described the medieval Greek verse compositions edited by Lambros as an 'easy and agreeable reading [to] those who have even a superficial acquaintance with medieval or modern Greek'.[53]

History of Ottoman and modern Greece

The *Academy*'s task of expanding its readers' cultural horizons corresponded with the Victorian concern to stress the British Empire's role in the international system. Interest in the modern history of European states was part and parcel of the indoctrination of the British imperial subject. As the German historian Reinhold Pauli (1823–1882) underlined in a review of three historical works on Greece, Italy and Spain:

> The demand for books of political instruction like these, in a country with rising and progressive prospects, is best evinced by the market they find; not any longer exclusively among scholars, but among a general public, deeply interested in its own destinies and the parallel development of the neighbouring countries.[54]

Indeed, commentary on historical accounts of Ottoman and modern Greece found its due place within the *Academy*'s columns. In 1870 Tozer wrote upon Finlay's edition of Benjamin Brue's diary relating Ali Pasha's expedition to Morea (1715), stressing Turkish barbarism.[55] Increasingly, he turned his attention to the recent history of Greece, with a political tinge lacking in his earlier reviews indicating his friendly disposition towards 'the gifted

51 Speaking about 'medieval' Greek literature, Tozer referred to the literary production between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, written in verse and using elements of the spoken idiom. Significantly, he acknowledged the modernity of certain texts of this long period, both in terms of their 'expressions' and their 'modes of thought' ('*Medieval Greek Texts*', 275).

52 Tozer, 'A Byzantine epic', 257–258.

53 Tozer, 'Collection de Romans grecs'.

54 Pauli, 'History of Greece', 174.

55 Tozer, 'Journal'.

race of the East'.[56] This shift in focus and attitude is perhaps linked with the Great Eastern Crisis of 1875–1878 and the upsurge of an 'anti-Ottoman' sentiment in England.[57] Following the failed Cretan insurrection of 1889, Tozer acclaimed two books by E.M. Edmonds, her biography of Rhigas Pheraios (1890) and her abridged translation of Theodoros Kolokotronis's memoirs (1892) dictated to Georgios Tertsetis, reminding his audience of the Greeks' heroic fight for freedom. Likewise, in a contemporary review of Stanley Lane-Poole's biography of Richard Church, commander in chief of the Greek forces in the years 1827–1829, under whom the 'famous' chieftain Kolokotronis had served, he highlighted the contribution of British military and political personalities to the successful outcome of the Greek War of Independence and the establishment of the Greek state.[58]

The literature of modern Greece

Within the *Academy*'s broad coverage, some importance was also attached to modern Greek literature. Tozer with his reviews, Edmonds and Loverdo through their obituaries of contemporary Greek writers and intellectuals, and a few others undertook to enlighten 'Englishmen' to most of whom the literature of modern Greece 'ha[d] been a sealed book'.[59]

When it came to contemporary Greek prose fiction, Dimitrios Bikelas's novel *Loukis Laras*, in its 'perfect' English translation by John Gennadius, stood in the foreground. Describing it as a 'remarkable book' rather than a 'fiction', Tozer regarded it a historical narrative relating to the slain in Chios during the Greek War of Independence. His perspective was informed by contemporaneous rhetoric on the liberation of Balkan Christians,[60] since he twice took the opportunity to denounce 'Turkish barbarity', comparing the narrated massacres in Chios with the infamous 'Bulgarian atrocities' of 1876. Bikelas was praised for the simplicity of his narrative and the artistry of his descriptions coloured with poetical touches and a 'certain Oriental flavour'.[61] On the whole, the Greek diaspora intellectual was highly esteemed

56 Tozer, 'The People of Turkey', 230.

57 Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 3 and 89.

58 See Tozer, 'Kolokotronês' and 'Sir Richard Church'.

59 Tozer, 'Poetry of modern Greece'.

60 See Roessel, *In Byron's Shadow*, 134.

61 Tozer, '*Loukis Laras*', 238, and Tozer, 'Notes of a tour', 153. Gennadius, who between 1875 and 1892 served three times as Greek chargé d'affaires in London, had developed significant ties with British Hellenists.

in the journal: his tales were eulogised for their graceful irony and subtlety of observation,[62] his critically informed translations of Shakespeare into the demotic were repeatedly appreciated for their tasteful rendering of the original – despite the shortcomings of the Greek language's 'tendency to amplification' – and their contribution to popularising the English playwright in Greece,[63] his verses were found melodious[64] whilst his essays and travel writings were recommended for their informed viewpoint, their intelligence and the sensible judgement of this 'intelligent Greek from Western Europe'.[65]

Two other of Tozer's reviews concerned anthologies of verse translations of modern Greek poetry prepared by three women: Florence McPherson, E.M. Edmonds and Lucy M.J. Garnett. Making favourable comparisons with examples of English and French poetry, Tozer sought to contextualise lesser-known Greek folk songs and poems within European literature and to stimulate positive reactions. His bias towards Greek popular ballads and his extensive knowledge of their collection and classification history is once again attested here. Following mainstream perceptions of his time, Tozer underpinned the foundational role of the popular muse in the formation of the new national literature: spontaneous and orally transmitted creations of the anonymous folk as well as sources of enthusiasm in the struggle for independence, the folk songs constituted a rich and major ingredient of modern Greek poetry. Functioning as the main literary expression of the enslaved Greeks, they 'became the heritage of the race', influencing the themes and versification patterns of later 'cultivated' poets.[66] Tozer further indicated their value in the study of cultural evolution, treating them, according to established views, as tokens of older religious beliefs, superstitions and pagan survivals.

When his attention shifted to his own era, his preferences were divided between heroic historical poems and shorter lyrical compositions with a marked interest in the uncanny and the mystical. He singled out Solomos, whom he identified, according to the dominant concept of his times, as the poet of the 'famous "*Ode to Liberty*"'[67] as well as 'the first poet of modern Greece', probably meaning the progenitor of the Greek vernacular poetic

62 H.L., 'Paris letter', regarding the illustrated French edition of *Nouvelles grecques* (1897).
63 Unsigned, 'Shakespeare in modern Greek'.
64 Unsigned, 'Two modern Greek books'.
65 Unsigned, 'De Nicopolis à Olympie'.
66 Tozer, 'Two translations of modern Greek Poetry'.
67 See Garandoudis, *Οι Επτανήσιοι*, 229.

language.[68] Nonetheless, he seemed fonder of two other Ionian Islands poets, who both wrote in the vernacular, and whose patriotic verses could attract the philhellenic public: Aristotelis Valaoritis and Ioulios (Julius) Typaldos.[69] The former was appreciated both for his touching lyrical verses ('Νάνι-Νάνι' ['Lullaby']) and the eerie impact of his epic-historical compositions rendering dark episodes of the national struggle such as 'Θανάσης Βάγιας' [Thanasis Vagias], which Tozer compared to Robert Southey's imaginative epic *The Curse of Kehama* (1811).[70] The latter, also esteemed by Edmonds and Loverdo, was noted for the metaphysical and mythological elements of his lyrics. Next to them stood two living poets writing in the demotic, Georgios Vizyenos and Georgios Drosinis, who were relatively better exposed in England via different platforms. Vizyenos's poetry collection *Ατθίδες Αύραι* [Attic breezes] was published in London by Trübner and Co. in three editions (1883; 1884) and reviewed in the British periodical press.[71] Additionally, two novellas by Drosinis had been translated by E.M. Edmonds, who further advocated his work in her articles on modern Greek literature.[72] Intriguingly, Drosinis's lightness of tone and freshness of spirit appealed to the sober taste of Tozer, who twice quoted his verses for the benefit of his readers. Brief comments on a few other of the anthologised poets were also offered, as again the critic was attracted either by the historical and patriotic content of their romantic verses (Alexandros Soutsos, Georgios Zalokostas) or by the folkloric and mythological elements they contained (Spyridon Lambros), irrespective of the variety of Greek in which they were written.

E.M. Edmonds favourably portrayed the modern Greek intellectual world through a different type of genre of Victorian literary journalism: the obituary. As a consistently versatile mediator,[73] catering for diverse audiences through a variety of genres and across different media, Edmonds used, in this case, an easily assembled format, requiring less research than any longer form of article, to engage the interest of readers. The social orientation of this type of discourse served well her main purpose: Edmonds employed the

68 See, respectively, Tozer, '*Poetry of Modern Greece*', and 'Two translations of modern Greek Poetry'.

69 Valaoritis was singled out as a real artist even in later less favourable reviews of Greek poetry (Unsigned, '*Greek Folk-Poesy*'). For the warm reception of Valaoritis in England, see also Rodd, 'The poet of the klephts'.

70 Tozer, 'Two translations of modern Greek poetry'.

71 See also note 83 below.

72 Gotsi, 'Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds'.

73 On this type of mediator, see Verschaffel *et al.*, 'Towards a multipolar model'. Edmond's prestige as a cultural mediator in the eyes of the periodical's readership, presumed to be the male educated elite, was supported by the favourable reviews she received by Tozer.

genre's hybrid nature 'in which both information and publicity coexist',[74] to announce the death of leading men of letters to philhellenes and diaspora Greeks and to impress a positive image of Greek cultural activity on the general reader.[75]

Between 1894 and 1896, Edmonds reported the death of the writers Iakovos (Jacob) Polylas (1825–1896), Achilleas Paraschos (1838–1895), Kostas Krystallis (1868–1894) and Georgios Vizyenos (1849–1896), of the eminent Archbishop of Zante Dionysios Latas (1835–1894) and the political writer Theodoros Gennaiou Kolokotronis (alias Falez, 1829–1894), grandson of the chieftain in the Greek War for Independence Theodoros Kolokotronis. Her brief obituaries gave a mere sketch of the lives, works and character of the commemorated subjects, based on personal recollections and scattered information she was able to collect. Consistently, she elaborated on a central personality trait or representative work of the deceased, thus conveying the principal characteristic of their contribution to public life. To a certain extent, she engaged with the evaluations of important Greek critics (Rhoidis, Politis, Palamas), transforming the obituary into a short critical note on the merits of particular texts. Mostly, however, her value judgements were bound by her own cultural horizon.

Her fascination with vernacular language and 'ethographic' literature (poems and short stories inspired by the traditions and the lives of rural Greek people), which is evident in her translations of Greek literature,[76] clearly emerges here as well. Thus, she portrayed the young Epirote writer Kostas Krystallis (1868–1894) as a poet, whose writing 'in the tongue or dialect which is still the language of a large majority of Greeks, appeal[s] to the "people" more than to any other class'. Edmonds discovered in the charm of his pastoral world inhabited by supernatural beings, qualities enchanting every audience 'who can read modern Greek' and went on to give a fuller account of 'Η ποδιά της Μαριώς' [Mario's apron], a short lyric from Krystallis's collection *Αγροτικά* [Of rural life, 1891]. A fleeting mention of his prose fiction and travel impressions reinforced the image of the author as a portrayer of traditional Greek life.[77]

The eminent scholar of the Ionian Islands Iakovos (Jacob) Polylas was presented as a politician, a minor poet, a translator of Homer and Shakespeare,

74 Crespo Fernández, 'Linguistic devices', 9.

75 In like manner, in her articles on Greek folklore, she took the opportunity to acknowledge the pioneering efforts of Nikolaos G. Politis in the field.

76 See Assinder, *Greece*, and Gotsi, 'Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds', 35–44.

77 Edmonds, 'Krystallês'. In the poems of this collection, which received an accolade in the Philadelpheios poetry contest of 1890, Krystallis adapted the vivid nature imagery, magical motifs and figures of speech of the demotic songs.

a member of Solomos's intellectual circle and an idealist. Polylas was already known to the *Academy*'s public as the accomplished translator of the *Odyssey* in the 'old Romaic language' and the 'political' verse of the folk songs.[78] Yet Edmonds mentioned nothing either about his linguistic views or his magisterial edition of Solomos's manuscripts (1859). As with Tozer, the Zakynthian poet was recalled solely as 'the author of the celebrated *Hymn to Liberty*'. Instead, Edmonds refered readers to Polylas's 'Ενα μικρό λάθος' [A small mistake, 1891], a realist short story in which the author utilised the local dialect of Corfu where the action took place. However, rather conventionally, she admired the story's 'imaginative skill and beauty of feeling'[79] rather than its poignant social criticism.

Writing about another Heptanesian, Ioulios Typaldos, she hailed him as a national poet of 'New Hellas' who, from her persistently romantic perspective tinged by liberal ideology, wrote 'songs for the people in the language of the people'.[80] Elsewhere, catering for the *Academy*'s readers' interest in ancient Greek religion, she selected for translation his lyric 'Το παιδάκι και ο Χάρος' [The child and Charon, 1849; 1856], also appreciated by Tozer, due to its analogies with ancient Greek conceptions of death.[81]

Edmonds viewed the romantic poet of the so-called Athenian School, Achilleas Paraschos, as filling the vacancy of Greece's 'chief national poet' after the death of Aristotelis Valaoritis.[82] From the different aspects of his style, the sentimental, the satirical and the patriotic, she distinguished the last: Paraschos was seen as celebrating the simple nobility and self-sacrificing bravery of the Greeks who fought in the War of Independence.

An intimate tone infused her account of Georgios Vizyenos, with whom she had corresponded. She invoked Vizyenos's poetry volume *Ατθίδες Αύραι* [Attic breezes], favourably reviewed in the *Academy*,[83] which, as she reminded her readers, was the source of a number of her translations. Once again,

78 Unsigned, 'Some modern-Greek books'.

79 Edmonds, 'Polylas', 131.

80 Cf. her encomium for Krystallis and her praise of Valaoritis as 'the most truly national poet of Greece […], alike in language as in thought, *the poet of the people*' in her 'Preface' in *Greek Lays* (1885), x, and *Greek Lays* (1886), vi.

81 Edmonds, 'A translation'.

82 Edmonds, 'Paraschos'. Here, Edmonds took into consideration the claim of Emmanuel Rhoidis that Valaoritis and Paraschos were the only noteworthy poets of contemporary Greece. On Valaoritis's claim to the title of national poet, see Politis, 'Εθνικοί ποιητές', 238–241, and Garandoudis, *Οι Επτανήσιοι*, 231–280.

83 See Varelas, *Μετά θάρρους*, 77–87, who thinks it likely that Edmonds wrote the book's anonymous review in the *Academy*'s 'Current Literature' department (1884); cf. Gotsi, '"*Αναγινώσκονται*"', esp. 334–335.

the charm of Vizyenos's poetry was connected with the mythological and legendary subject matter of his verses written in 'the language of the people'.[84] Edmonds's restricted perspective excluded his delicate psychological short fiction written mainly in *katharevousa* (an archaic, purified form of Greek), partly during the writer's stay in London. An emotional overtone may also be detected in her assessment of Dionysios Latas, whose eloquent preaching she had heard in Athens. Latas was introduced to her readers as a noteworthy example of a philanthropist, a thinking theologian and a highly educated member of the Orthodox clergy, thereby differentiated from the less gifted priests. Through his example, Edmonds defended the Orthodox Church against the 'considerable prejudice or ignorance' of Western Christendom.[85]

Certain partialities had motivated Edmonds in her obituary of Theodoros Gennaiou Kolokotronis, grandson of Theodoros Kolokotronis, as one might infer from the reference to her aforementioned English adaptation of the Greek chieftain's memoirs. She mentioned briefly the deceased's work as a contributor to newspapers under the pen name Falez, concentrating more on his character and his 'self-effacing' gesture to abdicate his famous patronymic.[86]

All these critical approaches reflected a European tradition of appreciation for poetry written in vernacular versions of modern Greek, which explains the concentration on certain Heptanesian poets. Additionally, criticism in the *Academy* shows that the relative merits of contemporary Greek poets, involving questions concerning appropriate language and themes for national literature, public presence and popular ethos, had transcended merely local antagonisms[87]; in fact, they had become the subject of critical attention within a European-wide discourse network.

The role of the Ionian Islands in the *Academy*'s sample of modern Greek literature deserves particular attention. As mentioned, Tozer and Edmonds acknowledged Solomos's reputation based on the *Hymn to Liberty* but placed a higher value on Valaoritis to whom Tozer devoted special attention in his reviews, while Edmonds in her anthology of translated Greek poetry *Greek Lays* hailed him as 'the most truly national poet of Greece'.[88] Solomos's

84 Edmonds, 'Visyenos'. On this obituary, see also Assinder, *Greece*, 62 and 109 note 20; also Gotsi, *"Αναγινώσκονται"*, 331–332.

85 Edmonds, 'Dionysios Latas'.

86 Edmonds, 'A grandson'.

87 On the ideological significance of the characterisation of a poet as 'national' in nineteenth-century Greece and the diverse reasons explaining the acclamation of certain of poets as such (Solomos, Valaoritis, Zalokostas, Paraschos), see Politis, 'Εθνικοί ποιητές'. Also Maronitis, 'Ο τύπος'.

88 See note 80 above.

reputation had been dented earlier by Wagner in his damning review of the *Songs of the Mountains* (1870) by the minor poet Ioannis Loverdos of Zante. Wagner considered Loverdos to have been influenced by Tennyson and Solomos to whom, nonetheless, he granted little 'originality of thought or sentiment', echoing adverse criticism concerning his unprolific output and lack of inspiration. In fact, Wagner asserted that Solomos's style had been 'surpassed by subsequent poets', implicitly boosting younger Heptanesians such as Typaldos and Valaoritis.[89]

An alternative critical pattern had been developed by J. Dionysius Loverdo, who in all likelihood was the aforementioned poet. Commemorating Ioulios Typaldos, Loverdo used the term 'school' to describe the collective achievement of those poets writing in the British-ruled Ionian Islands (from 1815 to 1864).[90] Although he did not dwell on the long-held critical contrast of the Ionian Islands poets with those of the Athenian centre, he subtly reinforced this antithetical schema by identifying the unique contribution of the Heptanesian intellectual tradition to modern Greek culture:

> One of the brightest chapters in the history of modern Greece is the literary history of the Ionian Islands under the British protectorate. During the period 1815–63, modern Greek literature was enriched by Mustoxides, Spiridion and John Zambelli, Lunzi, Braïla-Armeni, Chiotti, Romas, Livadas, Stamatelos, Lambros, Gryparis, Solomos, Valaorites, and Julius Typaldos. Typaldos is the last of the illustrious group (Solomos, John Zambelli, and Valaorites) who gave to Greece a new and original school of poetry.[91]

In other words, Loverdo pointed to the existence of a separate intellectual and literary tradition, shaped in the geographical space of the Ionian Islands before their incorporation into the Greek state. In the rich cultural line starting with the scholar and politician Andreas Moustoxidis and ending with the recently deceased Ioulios Typaldos, Loverdo distinguished a poetic 'group' comprising the poet and dramatist Ioannis Zambelios (1787–1856), Dionysios Solomos and Aristotelis Valaoritis. These three exemplified different aesthetic theories, versification and language forms, yet, from

89 Wagner, 'Loverdos' *Songs of the Mountains*'.

90 Loverdo followed here Juliette Lamber's terminology in *Poètes grecs contemporains* (1881), written with the guidance of Bikelas. For a concise presentation of the literature and the language debate in the Ionian Islands, see Mackridge, *Language*, 168–173.

91 Loverdo, 'Julius Typaldos'.

Loverdo's unifying perspective, they symbolised the Ionian moment of poetic renewal. By presenting Typaldos as a follower and ardent admirer of Solomos, Loverdo connectd his national-patriotic verses with Solomos's great legacy. In the same vein, whereas Loverdo, in his obituary, celebrated Valaoritis as a famous poet 'throughout the south-east of Europe, and wherever Greek colonies exist', who fully deserved 'the title of *national*', he concluded that he was 'considered by the Greeks second to Solomos'[92]: a sweeping comment, since Solomos's superiority was not commonly accepted in 1879.

Fundamentally, Tozer, Edmonds and Loverdo upheld the idea that modern Greece had a literary culture of its own. Particularly, they guided readers towards what they considered to be valuable, leading to the construction of an attractive, albeit partial modern Greek literary canon. Greek literature's highlights were represented by poetic compositions and a few fictions written in, or utilising, different varieties of the vernacular, which was consistently perceived as precious expression of a 'genuine' national (that is, popular) ethos; also by texts inspired either by episodes and personalities from the Greek struggle against the Turkish foes, or by materials of folkloric interest (popular myths, instances of peasant and bucolic life). In essence, despite differences in aesthetic criteria, their literary views were shaped by the prevalent philhellenic preoccupations with revolutionary and pagan Greece. At the same time, however, their perspectives were informed by judgements of contemporary Greek critics or reflected a predilection for specific writers with whom they maintained some kind of personal connection.

Conclusion

Despite their differences in subject matter or treatment of topics and their uneven appreciation of the character, achievements and national aspirations of the modern Greeks, contributors to the *Academy* disseminated to the educated British public research results on medieval and modern Greece that had been produced largely in France and Germany as well as Greece itself. In this light, the *Academy*'s paradigm suggests the crucial agency of generalist periodicals in the interaction of European scholarly networks, in rendering cultural borders more fluid and in enhancing the international flow of cultural manifestations.

A more crucial aspect of the *Academy*'s mediating agency relates to its 'philhellenic' dimension. To a large extent, the perspective on modern

92 Loverdo, 'Aristotelis Valaoritis'.

Greece offered by the periodical was more profitable than that of contemporary philhellenic literature. David Roessel has shown how English and American literary philhellenism remained fixed largely in the Byronic vision of a Hellas struggling for its regeneration and in the wishful perception of its resurgence as a sign of the advancement of social and political liberty throughout Europe. Unable to work a reappraisal of the country in its present condition, creative authors kept returning to the familiar themes of recollection of ancient grandeur, mourning for its 'departed glory', and admiration for the Greek Revolution.[93] In certain ways the *Academy* broke out of this stereotypical viewpoint. By engaging with the language, literature and historical life of the Greek world since late Byzantium, the periodical participated in a scholarly development which was well under way in Central Europe and was also evident in the extension of the British higher education curriculum during the last quarter of the century, beyond the text-based study of classical Greek literature into the history of language, history and archaeology of Hellenic civilisation.[94] This development resulted in the recognition of later Greece as a textual world worthy of scientific investigation and discussion counteracting the Victorians' attachment to classical Hellas as a world of permanent beauty.[95] Such a perception allowed later Greece to become part of British intellectuals' preoccupation with the central question of human and civilisational evolution as well as of their immersion in comparative philology.

More significantly, by reflecting on the intense Greek and wider European intellectual engagement with various facets of late medieval and modern Greece, the *Academy* contributed to the 'systematisation' process of the culture of Greeks. This process, which involved the assigning of Greek civilisation to stages of development and identifying its ethnological, religious, linguistic and literary traits, consolidated the idea of its 'primordial unity'.[96] In particular, in the *Academy*'s scientific environment, the keen affection for folk poetry and literature written in the vernacular conveyed views of the spoken tongue as the living progeny of ancient Greek. Arguments of linguistic continuity combined with the zealous attempt of certain contributors to dispel ignorance about the productions of Greek scholars and creative writers in the medieval and modern periods fostered the case for

93 Roessel, *In Byron's Shadow*, esp. 112–113, 155–158.

94 See Stray, 'Culture and discipline', 81–83 and *Classics Transformed*, 141–232.

95 See mainly Turner, *The Greek Heritage*.

96 See Mackridge, *Language*, 18–19, and note 58, who applies to the Greek case an idea expressed by Alain Dieckhoff.

Hellenism's uninterrupted cultural existence from antiquity to the present and harboured a respect for modern-day Greece.

The consideration of the longue durée of Greek culture was far from an apolitical academic stance: in essence, it responded to deeply political challenges of the continuity of Hellenism, the distinct ancestry of the modern Greek nation and its place in the West, such as those mentioned at the beginning of this essay being vehemently expressed by Hanbury. From this standpoint, the *Academy* held the door open, but no more, for a positive appreciation of the modern Greeks as a people who not only had preserved civilisational traces of Hellas's legacy but had also attempted their own steps on the European ladder of cultural progress.

Bibliography

Primary sources

The Academy

Boase, C.W., 'Sathas' Greek records of the Middle Ages', no. 521 (29 April 1882), 298-299.

Edmonds, Elizabeth Mayhew, 'A Translation from Typaldos', no. 594 (22 September 1883), 195.

—, 'A Grandson of Kolokotronês', no. 1151 (26 May 1894), 437.

—, 'Konstantine Krystallês', no. 1153 (9 June 1894), 475-476.

—, 'Dionysios Latas', no. 1165 (1 September 1894), 151.

—, 'Achilles Paraschos', no. 1190 (23 February 1895), 169.

—, 'George Visyenos', no. 1254 (16 May 1896), 405.

—, 'The "Antigone" at Athens', no. 1238 (25 January 1896), 83.

—, 'Jacob Polylas', no. 1268 (22 August 1896), 130-131.

Jebb, R.C., '*Horae Hellenicae: Essays and Discussions on Some Important Points of Greek Philology and Antiquity*. By Professor Blackie. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1874)', no. 141 (16 January 1875), 68-69.

H.L., 'Paris letter', no. 1331 (6 November 1897), 378.

Loverdo, J. Dionysius, 'Aristotelis Valaoritis', no. 380 (16 August 1879), 123.

—, 'Julius Typaldos', no. 589 (18 August 1883), 112-113.

Pauli, R.[einhold], 'History of Greece from the taking of Constantinople by the Turks to the present time. […]. Von Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. I. 1870. […]', no. 47 (1 May 1872), 173-175.

Tozer, H.F., 'Journal de la Campagne, que le Grand Vesir Ali Pacha a faite en 1715 pour la Conquête de la Morée: par Benjamin Brue. Paris: Thorin, 1870.', no. 10 (9 July 1870), 266.

—, '*Medieval Greek Texts: Being a Collection of the Earliest Compositions in Vulgar Greek, Prior to the Year 1500*. Edited with Prolegomena and Critical Notes, by Wilhelm Wagner, Ph.D. Part I. Lond.: Asher and Co. 1870', no. 10 (9 July 1870), 274-275.
—, '*Impressions of Greece*. By the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Wyse, K.C.B., &c., with an introduction by his niece, Miss Wyse; and *Letters from Greece to Friends at Home*, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1871.', vol. 2 (1 May 1871), 233-234.
—, 'A Byzantine epic. *Les Exploits de Digénis Akritas*, épopée byzantine, publiée pour la premiére fois par C. Sathas et É. Legrand. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1875)', no. 227 (9 September 1876), 257-258.
—, 'Greek poetry. *Recueil des Poèmes historiques en Grec vulgaire, relatifs à la Turquie et aux Principautés danubiennes*. Publiés, traduits et annotés par Émile Legrand (Paris: Leroux, 1877)', no. 295 (29 December 1877), 588.
—, '*The People of Turkey*. [...] By a consul's daughter and wife. Edited by Stanley Lane Poole. In two volumes. (Murray)', no. 331 (7 September 1878), 229-230.
—, '*Nouvelles Études sur la Littérature Grecque Moderne*. Par Ch. Gidel. (Paris: Maisonneuve.)', no. 355 (22 February 1879), 159-160.
—, '*Loukis Laras: Reminiscences of a Chiote Merchant during the War of Independence*. By D. Bikélas. Translated from the Greek by J. Gennadius. (Macmillan.)', no. 465 (2 April 1881), 237-238.
—, '*Dante's Inferno*. Translated into Greek verse by Musurus Pasha, D.C.L. [Δάντου ο Άδης, μετάφρασις Κωνσταντίνου Μουσούρου.] (Williams & Norgate.)', no. 510 (11 February 1882), 96-97.
—, 'Collection des Romans grecs. En Langue vulgaire et en Vers. Publiés pour la première fois d'après les Manuscripts de Leyde et d'Oxford par Sp. P. Lambros. (Paris: Maisonneuve)', no. 515 (18 March 1882), 189.
—, '*Poetry of Modern Greece: Specimens and Extracts*. Translated by Florence M'Pherson. (Macmillan.)', no. 627 (10 May 1884), 324.
—, 'Two translations of modern Greek Poetry: *Greek Lays, Idylls, Legends, &c. A Selection from Recent and Contemporary Poets*. Translated by E. M. Edmonds. (Trübner). *Greek Folk-Songs from the Turkish Provinces of Greece. Literal and Metrical Translations*. By Lucy M. J. Garnett. (Elliot Stock)', no. 687 (4 July 1885), 1-2.
—, 'Notes of a tour in the Asiatic Greek islands. III. Chios', no. 748 (4 September 1886), 152-154.
—, 'The development of the modern Greek language. *Essais de Grammaire Historique Néo- grecque: l'article féminin pluriel au moyen âge et de nos jours, et la première déclinaison moderne*. Par Jean Psichari. Première Partie. (Paris: Leroux)', no. 775 (12 March 1887), 186-187.

—, '*Seven Essays on Christian Greece*. By Demetrios Bikelas. Translated by the Marquess of Bute. (Alexander Gardner.)', no. 978 (31 January 1891), 107-108.
—, 'The life and work of Coray. *Adamantios Koraës* [Αδαμάντιος Κοραής]. By D. Thereianos. (Trieste: Austrian Lloyd's Press)', no. 998 (20 June 1891), 580-581.
—, '*Sir Richard Church, C.B., G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief of the Greeks in the War of Independence*. By Stanley Lane-Poole (Longmans.)', no. 1005 (8 August 1891), 108-109.
—, '"Adventure Series"- *Kolokotronês, the Klepht and the Warrior. Sixty Years of Peril and Daring.* Translated from the Greek by Mrs. Edwards. (Fisher Unwin)', no. 1032 (13 February 1892), 152-153.
—, '*The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building*. By W.R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson. (Mackmillan)', no. 1190 (23 February 1895), 177.
Wagner, W.[ilhelm], '*Collection de Monuments pour servir à l'étude de la Langue néo-hellénique*. Par E. Legrand. Paris and Athens, 1869. 4 numbers', no. 9 (11 June 1870), 245-246.
—, 'Erophile; a tragedy. [*Erophile, vulgärgriechische Tragödie von Georgios Chortatzes aus Kreta. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der neugriechischen und der italianischen Literatur*, von Conrad Bursian.] Leipzig: S. Hirzel. Pp. 90; 8vo.', no. 19 (1 March 1871), 167-168.
—, 'Loverdos' *Songs of the Mountains*. [Τραγούδια του βουνού. Υπό Ιωάννου Δ. Λοβέρδου.] London: 1871', no. 24 (15 May 1871), 259.
—, 'A history of the modern Greek language. By Constantine N. Sathas. [*Ιστορία του ζητήματος της νεοελληνικής γλώσσης*. Κ.Ν. Σάθα *Νεοελληνικής Φιλολογίας* παράρτημα. Εν Αθήναις, εκ της τυπογραφίας των τέκνων Ανδρέου Κορομηλά.] 1870', no. 37 (1 December 1871), 544-546.
—, 'Modern Greek miscellany. [*Νεοελληνικά Ανάλεκτα*, περιοδικώς εκδιδόμενα υπό του Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου 'Παρνασσού.' Τόμος Α'. Εν Αθήναις 1870-72]', no. 81 (1 October 1873), 376-377.
—, 'Sathas' medieval Greek library. [*Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, επιστασία Κ.Ν. Σάθα.] 3 vols. Venice 1872-3', no. 83 (1 November 1873), 416-418.
Unsigned [Wagner, W.], 'Literary notes', 2 (1 August 1871), 370.
Unsigned, 'Current literature', no. 239 (2 December 1876), 539-540.
Unsigned, 'Shaekespeare in modern Greek' (in the 'Current Literature' section), no. 274 (4 August 1877), 110.
—, 'Current literature', no. 335 (5 October 1878), 334-335.
—, 'Current literature', no. 425 (26 June 1880), 470-472.
—, 'Some modern Greek books', no. 474 (4 June 1881), 410.
—, 'Current litterature', no. 619 (15 March 1884), 182-183.

—, '*De Nicopolis à Olympie, …*' (in the 'Books of travel' section), no. 704 (31 October 1885), 290.
—, 'Two modern Greek books', no. 693 (15 August 1885), 101.
—, '*Greek Folk-Poesy: Annotated Translations*. By Lucy Garnett. Edited, with essays, by J.S. Stuart-Glennie. Vol. I., *Folk-Verse*. (David Nutt.)', no. 1282 (28 November 1896), 447-448.
—, '"'Tis Greece, but living Greece – ". *Modern Greece.* By Sir Richard Jebb. (Macmillan. 5s.)', no. 1528 (17 August 1901), 127-128.

Secondary sources and reference works

Assinder, Semele, *Greece in British Women's Writing, 1866-1915*, PhD Dissertation (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2012).
—, '"Reading the gray sky… in a sun-drenched translation": Translating modern Greece into English in *Fair Athens* by Elizabeth Edmonds', in *'His Words Were Nourishment and His Counsel Food': A Festschrift for David W. Holton,* ed. by Efrosini Camatsos, Tassos A. Kaplanis, and Jocelyn Pye (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 159-172.
Basch, Sophie*, Le Mirage grec. La Grèce moderne devant l'opinion française* (*1846-1946*) (Paris: Hatier-Kauffmann, 1995).
Beer, Gillian, 'The *Academy*: Europe in England', in *Science Serialized: Representations of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*, ed. by Geoffrey Cantor and Sally Shuttleworth (Cambridge, Mass/London: The MIT Press, 2004), 181-198.
Brake, Laurel, 'From critic to literary critic: The case of *The Academy*, 1869', in *Subjugated Knowledges: Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 36-50.
Diatsentos, Petros, *La question de la langue dans les milieux des savants grecs au XIX*e *siècle. Projets linguistiques et réformes,* PhD Dissertation (Paris: EHESS, 2009).
Ditsa, Marianna, 'Οι νεοελληνικές σπουδές στη Γαλλία τον 19ο αιώνα (σύντομη εξιστόρηση)' [Modern Greek studies in nineteenth century France (A brief account)], *Ο Πολίτης* [The Citizen], 9 (February 1977), 53-60.
Edmonds, E.M., *Fair Athens* (London: Remington and Co. 1881).
Edmonds, E.M. (trans.), *Greek Lays, Idylls, Legends, &c. A Selection from Recent and Contemporary Poets.* With introduction and notes (London: Trübner and Co., 1885).
—, *Greek Lays, Idylls, Legends, &c. A Selection from Recent and Contemporary Poets.* With introduction and notes. Revised and enlarged edition (London: Trübner and Co., 1886).
Crespo Fernández, Eliecer, 'Linguistic devices coping with death in Victorian obituaries', *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, 20 (2007), 7-21.

Garandoudis, Euripidis, *Οι Επτανήσιοι και ο Σολωμός. Όψεις μιας σύνθετης σχέσης (1820-1950)* [The Heptanesian poets and Solomos. Aspects of a complex relationship (1820-1950)] (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2001).

Gotsi, Georgia, '*"Αναγινώσκονται, κρίνονται και εκτιμώνται, –να το είπωμεν;– περισσότερον ή εν Ελλάδι"*: Νέα στοιχεία για την πρόσληψη του Γ.Μ. Βιζυηνού στην Αγγλία, 1883-1896' [They are read, evaluated and esteemed, –shall we admit it?– more than in Greece': New information on G.M. Vizyenos's reception in England, 1883-1896], *Πόρφυρας* [Porfyras], 150 (2014), 327-342.

—, 'Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds: Η ελληνική πεζογραφία στην αγγλική μεταφραστική σκηνή' [Elizabeth Mayhew Edmonds: Greek prose fiction in the English translation scene], *Σύγκριση/Comparaison/Comparison*, 25 (2015), 23-60.

—, 'Οι Νεοέλληνες στον καθρέφτη του ξένου: Συμβολή στη μελέτη των ελληνοβρετανικών πολιτισμικών δικτύων, 1870-1900' ['Modern Greeks in a Victorian mirror: A contribution to the study of Anglo-Greek cultural networks, 1870-1900'], in the Proceedings of the Symposium *Ελληνικότητα και Ετερότητα: Πολιτισμικές διαμεσολαβήσεις και 'εθνικός χαρακτήρας' στον 19ο αιώνα* [Greekness and Otherness: Cultural mediation and 'national character' in the nineteenth century], ed. by Anna Tabaki and Ourania Polykandrioti, 2 vols. (Athens: University of Athens/NHRF, 2016), 1, 95-116.

Hanbury, R.W. [Robert William], 'The spoilt child of Europe', *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, 6: 33 (1879), 928-952.

Holland, Robert, and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes. Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850–1960* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Holland, Robert, *The Warm South. How the Mediterranean Shaped the British Imagination* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2018).

Hionidis, Pandeleimon, 'Exporting a prince, ideas and institutions to Greece, 1862-4: Mid-Victorian perceptions of Britain's stand and mission in the world', *Britain and the World*, 10: 2 (2017), 135-154.

—, 'Philhellenism and party politics in Victorian Britain: The Greek Committee of 1879–1881', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 14 (2017), 141-176.

Jebb, R.C., *Modern Greece: Two Lectures Delivered before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh; with Papers on the 'Progress of Greece' and 'Byron in Greece'* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1880).

Karathanasis, Athan. E., *Η αρχή των νεοελληνικών σπουδών. (Πενήντα τρία σχολιασμένα γράμματα του Wagner στο Legrand)* [The beginnings of modern Greek studies (Fifty-three annotated letters by Wagner to Legrand)] (Thessaloniki: Afoi Kyriakidi, 1992).

Katsigiannis, Alexandros, 'Η παρουσία Γάλλων ελληνιστών στο *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον* του Μαρίνου Παπαδόπουλου Βρετού (1863-1871). Μια υπόθεση εργασίας' [The presence

of French Hellenists in Marinos Papadopoulos Vretos's National Almanac: A research hypothesis], in the Proceedings of the Scientific Symposium *Μετάφραση και περιοδικός τύπος τον 19ο αιώνα* [Translation and the periodical press in the nineteenth century], ed. by Anna Tabaki and Alexia Altouva (Athens: University of Athens/NHRF, 2016), 135-144.

Kent, Christopher, '*Academy, The*' in *British Literary Magazines,* vol. 3, *The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837-1913,* ed. by Alvin Sullivan (Westport, CT/London: Greenwood Press, 1984), 3-7.

Kiousopoulou, Tonia, 'Οι βυζαντινές σπουδές στην Ελλάδα (1850-1940)' [Byzantine studies in Greece (1850-1940)], in *Από τη Χριστιανική Συλλογή στο Βυζαντινό Μουσείο (1884-1930)* [From the Christian Collection to the Byzantine Museum (1884-1930)] ed. by Olga Gratziou and Anastasia Lazaridou (Athens: Ministry of Culture, 2006), 25-36.

Konstantellias, Charalampos A., *Δημήτριος Βικέλας. Άτυπος πρεσβευτής των εθνικών θεμάτων και των ελληνικών γραμμάτων. (Με βάση ανέκδοτες αρχειακές πηγές)* [Dimitrios Bikelas. Informal ambassador of national issues and modern Greek letters. (Based on unpublished archival sources)] (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 2018).

Kostis, Kostas, *'Τα κακομαθημένα παιδιά της Ιστορίας'. Η διαμόρφωση του νεοελληνικού κράτους, 18ος-21ος αιώνας* ['Les enfants gâtés de l'histoire'. The formation of the modern Greek state, 18th-21st centuries] (Athens: Polis, 2013).

Koubourlis, Giannis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές των Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου και Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλου. Η συμβολή Ελλήνων και ξένων λογίων στη διαμόρφωση του τρίσημου σχήματος του ελληνικού ιστορισμού (1782-1846)* [The historiographical debts of Sp. Zambelios and K. Paparrigopoulos. The contribution of Greek and foreign scholars in the formulation of the triadic schema of Greek historicism (1782-1846)] (Athens: NHRF, 2012).

Lamber, Juliette, *Poètes grecs contemporains* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1881).

Mackridge, Peter, 'Byzantium and the Greek language question in the nineteenth century', in *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*, ed. by David Ricks and Paul Magdalino (Aldershot, Hamsphire/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1998), 49-61.

—, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766-1976* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Maronitis, D.N. 'Ο τύπος του εθνικού ποιητή. Ο αντίκτυπος του αλβανικού έπους στην ποίησή μας' [The type of the national poet. The impact of the Albanian front epic in our poetry], in *Όροι του λυρισμού στον Οδυσσέα Ελύτη* [Lyricism in Odysseas Elytis] (Athens: Kedros, [4]1984), 55-80.

Miliori, Margarita, 'Europe, the classical polis, and the Greek nation: Philhellenism and Hellenism in nineteenth-century Britain', in *The Making of Modern Greece:*

Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896), edited by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Basingstoke: Ashgate, 2009), 65-77.

Mitsou, Marie-Élisabeth, 'Négoce et transfert culturel. Dimitrios Bikélas et le réseau intellectuel franco-grec dans la seconde moitié du XIX[e] siècle', *Rives méditerranéennes,* 50: 1 (2015), 13-25.

Mitsou, Marilisa, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών και πολιτισμικές μεταφορές στα τέλη του 19ου αι. (Karl Krumbacher, Émile Legrand, N. Γ. Πολίτης)' [Networks of (neo-) Hellenists and cultural transfers at the end of the nineteenth century. (Karl Krumbacher, Émile Legrand, N.G. Politis)], in *'...ως αθύρματα παίδας': Eine Festschrift für Hans Eideneier,* ed. by Ulrich Moennig (Berlin: Edition Romiosini/CeMog, 2016), 313-325.

Papakostas, Giannis, *O Émile Legrand και η* Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία. *Αρχειακή μελέτη* [Émile Legrand and the *Bibliographie Hellénique*. Archival study] (Athens: Kostas and Eleni Ourani Foundation, 2011).

Politis, Alexis, 'Εθνικοί ποιητές' [National poets], in *Αθέατες όψεις της ιστορίας. Κείμενα αφιερωμένα στον Γιάνη Γιανουλόπουλο* [History's invisible aspects. Texts for Gianis Gianoulopoulos] (Athens: Asini), 227-244.

Reid, Julia, 'The *Academy* and *Cosmopolis:* Evolution and culture in Robert Louis Stevenson's periodical encounters', in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, ed. by Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor *et al.* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), 263-273.

Rodd, Rennell, 'The poet of the Klephts. Aristoteles Valaoritis', *The Nineteenth Century : A Monthly Review*, 30: 173 (1891), 130-144.

Roessel, David, *In Byron's Shadow. Modern Greece in the English and American Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Roll-Hansen, Diderik, *The Academy 1869-1879: Victorian Intellectuals in Revolt* (Copenhagen: Rosenkidle/Bagger, 1957) [*Anglistica*, 8 (1957)].

Stray, Christopher A., 'Culture and discipline: Classics and society in Victorian England', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 3: 1 (1996), 77-85.

Stray, Christopher, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830-1960* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Tozer, Henry Fanshawe Rev., *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey: Including Visits to Mounts Ida, Athos, Olympus, and Pelion, to the Mirdite Albanians, and Other Remote Tribes. With Notes on the Ballads, Tales, and Classical Superstitions of the Modern Greeks, In Two Volumes* (London: John Murray, 1869).

—, 'Byzantine frescoes and rock-hewn churches in the Terra d'Otranto', *The Antiquary*, 18 (October and November 1888), 137-140 and 191-197.

Tolias, George, 'The resilience of philhellenism', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 13 (2017), 51-70.

Turner, Frank M., *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981).

Verschaffel, Tom, Reine Meylaerts, Tessa Lobbes, Maud Gonne, and Lieven D' Hulst, 'Towards a multipolar model of cultural mediators within multicultural spaces. Cultural mediators in Belgium, 1830-1945', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 92: 4 (2014), 1255-1275.

Varelas, Lambros, *Μετά θάρρους ανησυχίαν εμπνέοντος. Η κριτική πρόσληψη του Γ. Μ. Βιζυηνού (1873-1896)* ['Inspiring concern with courage': G.M. Vizyenos's critical reception (1873-1896)] (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2014).

About the author

Georgia Gotsi is Professor of Modern Greek and Comparative Literature at the University of Patras, Greece. She has held visiting posts at Brown University and fellowships at the Remarque Institute of New York University, and at Harvard University's Center for Hellenic Studies in Nafplio. Her research interests focus on the reception and translation of European and North American literatures in Greece, the cultural biography of antiquities, and the Jewish as well as the immigrant presence in contemporary Greek fiction. Recent publications: *Life in the Capital: Topics in Late-Nineteenth-Century Prose Fiction* (Athens, 2004, in Greek), *'The Internationalization of Imagination': Relations of Greek and Foreign Literatures in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, 2010, in Greek), *Elizabeth M. Edmonds: The Victorian Biographer of Rigas. Introduction –Text – Notes* (Athens, 2020). She has also published a number of articles on nineteenth-century Greek prose fiction and popular fiction, on Anglo-Greek cultural relations, and on literary uses of material antiquities. Email: gotsi@upatras.gr.

6. Modern Greek studies in Italy (1866–1897): Philhellenic revival and classical tradition through the lens of the *Nuova Antologia*

Francesco Scalora

Abstract
During the long era of Italian philhellenism, interest in modern Greece was more than just political and ideological. In particular, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the philhellenism of the Risorgimento period was animated by an interest in the culture of modern Greece and by the wish to investigate the character and most significant aspects of the civilisation and literary production of modern Greece. In the context of literate and pluralistic Italian editorial opinion, the magazine *Nuova Antologia* exhibited a sincerity of interest in modern Greece in the years when Italy and Greece were still engaged in the process of national resolution and finding their places within the European political and cultural scene.

Keywords: Italy, modern Greece, Italian press, modern Greek studies, Italian philhellenism, *Nuova Antologia*

Sympathy for the Greek Revolution was an expression of solidarity not limited to the Italian political and cultural scene, but shared also by the rest of Europe. In the context of this philhellenism, which persisted throughout the nineteenth century, Italy participated more tortuously and deeply for reasons of history, geographical position and political reality. Attesting to this is the fact that, while philhellenism, together with the general exhaustion

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH06

of Romanticism, had already weakened in Central Europe by the middle of the nineteenth century, it lasted longer and was more intense in Italy.[1]

Attention to the revolutionary cause of modern Greece showed no signs of diminishing after the recognition of Greece as an independent state in 1830. The long tradition of relations between Italian and Greek revolutionaries, which started before 1821, was renewed in the most significant moments marking the path towards national resolution in the two countries. On the eve of Italian unification, this feeling of brotherhood between the two countries revived in a compelling fashion.[2] The new period of philhellenism, beginning in 1859, was destined to last for the remainder of the nineteenth century, with significant milestones marked by Garibaldi's foray into Greek territory during the Cretan insurrections of 1866 and 1896, the latter of which resulted in the Greco-Turkish War of 1897.[3] Nonetheless, 'the great hopes of the early 1860s [...] were also favoured by projects no longer concerning the brotherhood among peoples in search of their national freedom, but dictated by desire for territorial expansion and for the increase of dynastic prestige'.[4] These irredentist implications partly compromised the authenticity of Italian philhellenic sentiment and discourse, diminishing hopes for an effective collaboration between Italian and Greek revolutionary actors. The 'economic, international, diplomatic and strategic situation', in fact, 'did not justify any particular sympathy between Greece and Italy, nor generous commitments in the name of an idea of nationality that was becoming increasingly "polluted" and confused. [...] The epoch of nationality had given way to that of nationalism'[5] and the philhellenic impulses, including its late literary and artistic manifestations, lost relevance. Generous as these may be, these pro-Greek initiatives (some of which matured also in the academic field) proved unable to affect the national and international political scene. The persistence of the Italian Risorgimento rhetoric and the revival of philhellenism reduced to 'a cultural attitude that can be employed for the most diverse uses', appeared 'now forced into a non-hegemonic but culturally complementary position'.[6]

1 An updated bibliography of the Italian philhellenic phenomenon throughout the nineteenth century can be found in Isabella, *Risorgimento in esilio*, 87–145; Noto, *La ricezione del Risorgimento*; Scalora, *Sicilia e Grecia*.

2 Liakos, *L'unificazione italiana e la Grande Idea*.

3 Scalora, *Sicilia e Grecia*, 104–112, 398–437.

4 Guida, 'Correnti e iniziative filelleniche', 71–72. Throughout the essay the translation of Italian quotations into English are mine.

5 *Ibidem*, 100.

6 *Ibidem*.

During the long era of Italian philhellenism, the interest in modern Greece was not only political and ideological. On several occasions the Italians looked to Greece with a concrete interest in places and inhabitants, cultural activity and the literary production of modern Greece. Since the second half of the eighteenth century, a large number of publications on neo-Hellenic themes were produced in Italy. With the outbreak of the Greek Revolution of 1821, their number grew considerably, forming a remarkable and diverse array of writings aimed at understanding the modern Greek world.[7]

In the second half of the century, once Romantic enthusiasm had faded, the interest in modern Greece gradually diminished. The new reality of Greece did not live up to the expectations of those who had persistently approached it through the lens of a mythical classical Greece. However, in Italy, despite prejudices and a certain unjustified dislike, interest in modern Greece was constant, thanks also to the work of university professors (in particular, specialists in classical and Byzantine areas) who studied modern Greek as an ancillary activity, thus contributing to the substantial change of scope of neo-Hellenic studies. The philhellenism of the Risorgimento period was gradually replaced by an interest in the culture of modern Greece and by the wish to investigate the character and most significant aspects of Greek civilisation. Greece was viewed in relation to its European context, with emphasis on its present, leaving out spurious comparisons with its past.

In this complex process, the press played a decisive role in spreading Greek culture. In the context of the literate and pluralistic Italian editorial opinion, as is known, Gian Pietro Vieusseux's *Antologia* had a fundamental position. The work was produced in 48 volumes between 1821 to 1832: these were decisive years for the formation of the Italian national public opinion. The stature of the collaborators, the broadness of the cultural and civil themes addressed, the progressive spirit and the civic pathos animating it, made it the most representative periodical of the first half of the nineteenth century, and perhaps of the entire century. Vieusseux's Gabinetto Scientifico e Letterario, the library and cultural institution he founded in Florence in 1819, is a good observatory for tracking the development of a culture open to the present, as well as of the formation of a Greek national culture at the time of the War of Independence.[8]

The cultural circle of Vieusseux, born in the liberal environment of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, immediately grasped the importance of the Greek independence movement, not only as a symbol of redemption of

7 Carpinato, 'Studiare la lingua greca', 197–203, and 'Ιστορία και ιστορίες', 135–138.

8 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 23–62.

civilisation against barbarism, but also as an opportunity to break the rigid and conservative patterns of the Holy Alliance.[9] The *Antologia*, by monitoring the philhellenic enthusiasm and recording its manifestations, became the interpreter of these trends. The analysis of the writings on Greece published in the Florentine magazine allows one to follow the evolution of the Italian philhellenic phenomenon through the diffusion of figurative readings pertaining to ancient Greek tradition from a modern perspective. Also, these contributions on Greece, which highlighted the unity of ancient and modern Greece, often served to bring attention to Italian current affairs, using analogy as a rhetorical device. The juxtaposition and the combination of different contexts and values, distant in time, may appear to be driven by fantasies or by a revival of eighteenth-century orientalism, but sought to depict reality and converged towards a national objective.[10]

In January 1866, Francesco Protonotari started to publish *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* (hereafter *N.A.*) in Florence,[11] the capital of Italy since 1865. Initially, it was published as a monthly. In 1878, when its headquarters were moved to Rome, which had become the capital in 1871, it came out every fifteen days. The magazine was intended to revitalise the tradition of Vieusseux's *Antologia* and serve, as Protonotari wrote in his first editorial, as a tool for the education of the ruling class which was supposed to enable a 'reborn' Italy to 'embrace its national and political destinies'.[12] Thanks also to the good fees he offered to authors, Protonotari secured the collaboration of the major exponents of Italian culture of the time. He did not limit his interest to scholars in the humanities but also gave space to jurists, scientists, technicians, specialists in the new social sciences and many others.[13] In a short time the *N.A.* became one of the most authoritative and prestigious Italian journals. Certainly it is one of the most enduring as it is still being published today.[14]

As in the first phase of its life, *N.A.*'s dialogue with its readers was not aimed at erudition. It rather aimed at promoting active participation in the Risorgimento process[15] in the years when Italy and Greece were still engaged in the process of national resolution and finding a place within the European political and cultural scene. The continuity with the original *Antologia* 'is

9 Ceccuti, 'Risorgimento greco e filoellenismo'.
10 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 29–30.
11 Ceccuti, *Antologia della 'Nuova Antologia'*.
12 Protonotari, '*La Nuova Antologia*', 5.
13 Conti, 'Protonotari, Francesco'.
14 https://nuovaantologia.it (15 December 2018).
15 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 97.

evident, especially in the first decade, from 1866 to 1875'. 'The markedly civic intent and the generalist profile'[16] of the new journal, however, limited coverage of philhellenic issues to a continuously evolving section. Although the tone of sympathy for the Greek insurrection of the early nineteenth century was still present, the cultural initiatives promoted by *N.A.* did not contribute to the rebirth of the cultural ferment characterising the years when the journal was directed by Vieusseux. Because of a vague editorial line in relation to current Greek affairs, the urgency of political and cultural issues regarding the new Italian state, interest in modern Greece was sporadic. Its posture served more to assert its continuity with the legacy of the first *Antologia* than to revive its original spirit.[17]

In the following pages I shall analyse the interest of the Italian journal in the modern Greek world during a historical period that was decisive for national resolution and the state system of the two countries. For Greece, the historical period examined includes the 30-year period from the start of the Cretan insurrection of 1866 to the turmoil of 1896 which led to the Greco-Turkish War of 1897. In Italy, however, once the first phase of the Risorgimento ended with the unification (1861), another phase began that was less exciting, but definitely animated by the democratic and nationalistic tradition that identified the Risorgimento with the aspiration for a state that included all Italians.

The systematic examination of the journal brought to light a large number of articles concerning the modern Greek world as well as shorter mentions to it. Their examination reveals a sincerity of interest as well as, at times, a superficiality in the treatment of the subject. The approach to neo-Hellenic issues in some way reflects the discontinuous interest of Italy in the neighbouring Greek nation. I will therefore limit myself to presenting a representative sample that exemplifies the forms and levels of interest that Italy showed towards Greece, while I refer to the study of Franca Bellucci, to whom I owe very many valuable leads, for a more detailed investigation. Finally, I would like to clarify that my contribution, in mentioning the scholars and all the Italian researchers of modern Greece active in the period, makes no claim of completeness, given the surprising number of publications on a variety of modern Greek issues that circulated in Italy in the years under examination.

The first occasion for the rebirth of philhellenism in Italy was offered by the Cretan insurrection of 1866, which occupied the international political

16 *Ibidem*.

17 *Ibidem*, 98-99.

and diplomatic scene until 1869. The attitude of the young Italian state towards the Cretan movement was confused and contradictory. An initial distance gave way to a 'paternalistic'[18] approach, which in fact betrayed Italian irredentist aspirations in the process of reordering the diplomatic relations in the Eastern Mediterranean. The new editorial line of the *N.A.* reflecting the positions of the Italian government, made references to philhellenism, revived for the occasion, that changed with the growing national public interest in Cretan events. Recurring to the linguistic tropes of the narrative of Italian Risorgimento at the beginning of the century, these philhellenic tones appeared to be 'functional in the founding moment of the state',[19] and were aimed at justifying an enlargement of the Italian sphere of influence beyond the Ionian Sea. These intentions, other than being unfounded, also had to face much more aggressive competitors – namely, the Great Powers, England in particular.

The *N.A.* followed the development of the Cretan insurrection from the beginning to its second phase. References to the Cretan question appear in the second volume of 1866 in the section 'Rassegna politica', directed by the philologist and politician Ruggero Bonghi, and continue to appear until the beginning of 1869. The monitoring of Greek political events was not limited to the description of contemporary ones. On several occasions the analysis of the editor offered reflections on the sociopolitical development of Greece, especially in relation to the process of harmonisation with Europe. In 1868 Bonghi authored a contribution titled 'I partiti politici nel Parlamento italiano'.[20] Referring to Greece, and quoting the French archaeologist and Assyriologist François Lenormant, author of a historical study of comparative politics entitled *La Grèce et les Îles Ioniennes* (1865), Bonghi denounced the high levels of corruption among the political parties of the new Greek state. The harshness of Lenormant's take on the current state of Greek politics shows few signs of tolerance. Bonghi, on the other hand, merely breathes a sigh of relief, hoping and believing that in Italy 'we are still far from this state of affairs'.[21] Assessments such as those of Bonghi reflect the strong civic purpose informing the *N.A.*

While monitoring the political scene, the attitude of the magazine towards Greece did not lack moments of sincere interest in cultural life and contemporary literary production. In December 1866, in the section

18 *Ibidem*, 99.
19 *Ibidem*, 101.
20 Bonghi, 'I partiti politici nel Parlamento italiano'.
21 *Ibidem*, 29.

'Bibliografia',[22] the scholar and linguist Emilio Teza, also an expert in the neo-Hellenic field, wrote a long review of the work *Saggi dei dialetti greci dell'Italia meridionale*, collected and illustrated by Domenico Comparetti and published in Pisa in 1866. Reflecting on the linguistic character of Comparetti's study, Teza commented on the linguistic issues which at the time animated the cultural debate of the new Greek state, inviting the Greeks to devote attention to 'provincial dialects':

> Where in Greece is a writer to be found with such a rich and sincere style, not clouded by an intemperate love for the lexicon? There have been attempts; but they lack ardour and constancy: and if they do not want the common language of the Ionian Islands, it would help if other provinces imitated the first examples of the inhabitants of these islands, moulding their own language, not the language of the church. […] To the plague of old imitations one must add the Greek transcriptions of French and Italian phrases and thoughts, at times English and German. […] Europe does not ask the Greeks for Sophocles, nor for Plato, nor even for Chrysostom: it asks for literature that may stand on its own, without asking Homer to act as a crutch, nor Lamartine.[23]

The years following the creation of the new Greek state were years of political reaction and conservatism. Linguistic archaism became a central preoccupation of Athenian intellectual activity; while in the Ionian Islands, which were united with the Kingdom of Greece in 1864, poetry continued to flourish under the influence of Dionysios Solomos, without being subject to the conservative influence of the Athenian School.[24] The linguistic issue, as Teza correctly points out, had concrete implications in literature. But which literature did Teza speak of? What knowledge of modern Greek literature was there in Italy in the years in which he wrote?

22 Teza, 'Saggi dei dialetti greci dell'Italia meridionale'.

23 'Dov'è in Grecia scrittore che mostri ricca vena e schietta, senza che l'amore intemperante a' lessici non gliela intorbidisca? Tentativi ci furono; ma senza ardire senza costanza: e se la favella comune delle isole Ionie non la vogliono, gioverebbe che altre province si adoperassero ad imitare i primi esempi degli Ionii, a rifare nelle stampe la lingua di casa propria, non la lingua di chiesa. […] Alla peste delle antiche scimiotterie si aggiunge l'altra dei trascrittori in voci greche de' periodi e de' pensieri francesi e italiani, e talvolta inglesi e tedeschi. […] A' Greci l'Europa non chiede né Sofocle, né Platone e nemmeno il Crisostomo: chiede letteratura che da sé reggasi, non domandi una gruccia ad Omero, l'altra al Lamartine […]'; *ibidem*, 823–824.

24 Perlorentzou, *La lingua greca*, 71-75; Rotolo, *Koraìs e la questione della lingua in Grecia*; Mackridge, *Language*, 102–202.

In 1867, *N.A.*, in the section 'Bollettino Bibliografico', announced the publication of Luciano Sissa's Italian version of *San Minas*,[25] the epic lyric poem by Theodoros G. Orfanidis dedicated to the Greek Revolution, published in Athens in 1860. In their note, the editors of the magazine complained that modern Greek literary production was largely unknown and claimed that:

> rather than summarising the events of Greek civilisation, which are well known, and linking them to the history of the Hellenic insurrections, of which the destruction of the *San Mina* convent is an episode, we would have preferred it if [Theodoros G. Orfanidis] had spoken about modern Greek literature, which he himself claims is little known, and about which he gives us some hints, indeed enough to show that he could to tell us more about it.[26]

The editorial comment was not entirely unjustified. No one had attempted a systematic study of modern Greek literature thus far, and the treatises published through 1867 were incomplete, abbreviated and chronologically not updated. In this context must be read the efforts of Benedetto Saverio Terzo, who published the first Italian translation of the *Cours de littérature grecque moderne* by Iakovakis Rizos Neroulos in Palermo (1842),[27] as well as of Cesare Cantù, who in his *Storia della letteratura greca* (Florence, 1863) dedicated few of the manual's 535 pages to modern Greek literature, and also of Tommaso Semmola, who published a history of modern Greek literature in 1857 in the Neapolitan journal *Il Giambattista Vico*. The work of Semmola, as Caterina Carpinato affirms, was nothing more than a translation or a summary of the history of Greek literature by Alexandros Rizos Rangavis.[28] The activity of Costantino Triandafillis deserves, on the other hand, a brief excursus. An intellectual of vast and solid knowledge, a scholar, philologist and poet, Triandafillis taught modern Greek at the Royal High School of Commerce of Venice from 1868 to 1890 and at the Istituto Orientale until 1913.[29] Triandafillis contributed significantly to spreading modern Greek

25 'Bollettino Bibliografico' (1867).

26 'avremmo voluto che [Theodoros G. Orfanidis] invece di compendiarci in proemio le vicende della greca civiltà, notissime, e di collegarle alla storia delle insurrezioni elleniche di cui la strage del convento di Santo Mina è un episodio, ci avesse piuttosto parlato di questa letteratura greca moderna che pure afferma così imperfettamente conosciuta, e della quale accennandoci di fuga i caratteri, mostra egli saperne tanto da poter utilmente discorrere'; *ibidem*.

27 Scalora, *Sicilia e Grecia*, 11–12, 274–276.

28 Carpinato, 'Νεοελληνική γλώσσα και λογοτεχνία', 311.

29 Carpinato, 'Lingua e letteratura (neo)greca', 86–96.

studies in Italy. In 1871 he published a critical study on *Αγορά* (Agora) by Dimitrios Paparrigopoulos in the *Rivista Filologico-Letteraria* of Verona,[30] where he states that 'it is useful and necessary [...] to cooperate to spread the knowledge of these new works that deserve to be known, because of the sophistication of their form and concept'.[31] It is from this standpoint that he published in Venice, also in 1871, *La Grecia nel suo progresso intellettuale* in Venice, a translation of the *Ολυμπιακός Λόγος* (Olympic Speech) that Filippos Ioannis (Ioannou), a well-known Greek scholar and Latinist and professor at the University of Athens since 1839, had published in Athens in 1870. Ioannou's speech is 59 pages long and represents, as he himself claims, an attempt to 'illustrate the progress of the Greek spirit [...] and the intellectual life of the nation'[32] in the modern and contemporary age. The *N.A.* announced its publication in October of that same year.[33]

Let us now return to the complaints of the editors of the *N.A.*, expressed in announcing the publication of *San Minas* by Orfanidis. Their request for a systematic and reasoned history of modern Greek literature was indeed not completely unjustified, though it remained unanswered for a long time. The interest in modern Greek literature shown by the magazine and by other researchers focused on the Greek folk song. In 1868, Dora d'Istria published in the Florentine magazine a long contribution entitled 'I clefti della Grecia moderna',[34] which offered a thorough review of the main collections of Greek folk songs published in Europe up to that point.

Following the contribution of Niccolò Tommaseo and of other translators and enthusiasts, the Italian interest in Greek folk songs waned. The writings of two polymaths who occasionally wrote about the Greek folk song – the linguist and orientalist Angelo De Gubernatis and Emilio Teza – represent the last echoes of an interest destined to disappear. With this contribution, or perhaps even more with her prestigious name, Dora d'Istria revived the Italian interest in the Greek folk song. The publication by Dora d'Istria was followed, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, by a discrete number of independent publications on the subject.[35] The reasons for the national significance and ideological value of the folk song are well known. The texts of the klephtic songs were for the Italian and European public, as for the Greeks, not so much a precious material for the study of folklore and

30 Triandafillis, 'Studio critico sull'Agorà di Demetrio Paparrigopulo'.

31 *Ibidem*, 129.

32 Ioannis, *La Grecia nel suo progresso intellettuale*, 5, 11.

33 R.F., 'La Grecia nel suo progresso intellettuale'.

34 D'Istria, 'I clefti della Grecia moderna'.

35 De Simone Brouwer, 'Per gli studi neoellenici in Italia', 615–616, 618–619.

history, but a poetic production that immediately resounded with the liberal and national sentiments of the nineteenth-century progressive class. In this sense, the tradition of folk song could acquire the patriotic associations of Italian philology, which was committed to reaffirming the continuity of the nation. In the newborn Italy, the philhellenism spread by *N.A.* was a mix of possibilities, which included the revival of classical studies. 'If the goal of literary creativity was Europe, there is no doubt that the overall momentum, among the critics as well as among the authors, was pervaded by a classical exaltation.'[36] The gravity of the classical tradition allowed the voice of the people to become one with national and liberal sentiments. In resuming classical studies from a nationalistic perspective, Italy reconsidered the classical heritage from the point of view of continuity,[37] looking to ancient Greece in terms of its relationship with ancient Rome. The new Greek state and its contemporary literary production did not seem to present the best conditions for cultural research.

According to Franca Bellucci,

> In the society in which the *N.A.* was making its appearance, the word 'classicism' had been poisoned by the polemical force it had had at the time of the *Antologia*: then it was opposed to 'Romanticism', and in any case it suggested purely formal modes. The path taken in the meantime, one of new cultural and political relations, allowed for reconsidering classicism, in a passionate re-examination of tradition.[38]

The revival of classical studies, as well as being encouraged by the reorganisation of the academic programmes of schools by the Casati Reform of 1859,[39] can also be explained by the patriotic enthusiasm displayed by Italian philology of the time.[40] The need to ensure the historical continuity of the nation, in order to address doubts over international diplomatic recognition, led to using European references to ancient Greece as a model. In line with this ideological perspective, Italy, by virtue of the mutual influences and intense relationship that had linked it to Greece for thousands of years, developed a national-patriotic discourse capable of summarising the role of the two countries in the Mediterranean context as early as the last decades

36 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 135.

37 De Francesco, *The Antiquity of the Italian Nation*, 1–157; Giardina and Vauchez, *Il mito di Roma*, 117–211.

38 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 101.

39 Benedetto, 'Rifar da capo'.

40 Degani, 'La filologia greca nel secolo XX'.

of the eighteenth century. Such ties, of course, had been decisive in the development of the Mediterranean civilisation and subsequently of the Western one.

In the second half of the nineteenth century these shared Italian-Greek intentions took on a strictly political character and the pro-Greek initiatives had, as we said, a limited and an ambiguous significance. The earlier ambitious enthusiasm, in the years immediately following the Congress of Berlin (1878) was limited to dreams never achieved or to ephemeral initiatives. From this perspective, for instance, one must view the Helleno-Latin Union formed by the Venetian Marco Antonio Canini, the Philhellenic League of Carlo Michele Buscalioni and the Helleno-Latin Association of Angelo De Gubernatis.[41]

These initiatives were born in the context of the debate around the Epirus Question. Although they came to nothing, they rekindled the interest in Greece in the Italian political-cultural debate. The cultural reflections of these pro-Greek political initiatives were not minor. This is demonstrated by the literary activity of Canini, in his writings on modern Greek literary production,[42] and by the activity of De Gubernatis. In relation to modern Greek culture,[43] the latter had more concrete and appreciable results, not only in the publications that appeared in the many journals he founded and in the countless editorial ventures he undertook, but also in the *N.A.*, for which he created a section called 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', which he directed from the end of 1876 until November 1887. With his column, De Gubernatis intended to continue the work undertaken seven years earlier with the foundation of *La Rivista Europea*, which he directed until December 1869.[44]

The rapprochement and mediation with France emerge clearly, besides being explicitly declared by the author in the words introducing the 'Rassegna'. As Franca Bellucci has noticed, in his column De Gubernatis

> outlined a triangulation with France that provided important information to readers on Greece as well. In particular, in October 1879 the *Nouvelle Revue*, a new magazine founded by the Parisian writer Juliette Adam (Lamber), became the main contact with France.[45]

41 Guida, 'Correnti e iniziative filelleniche', 78–87.
42 Carpinato, 'Lingua e letteratura (neo)greca', 86–96.
43 Nikas, 'Η αλληλογραφία του Νικολάου Πολίτη'.
44 De Gubernatis, 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', *N.A.*, 33 (December 1876), 856.
45 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 130.

Working in close collaboration with Dimitrios Bikelas, a prominent Greek intellectual of the second half of the nineteenth century, the illustrious Parisian feminist informed the readers of her journal about Greek literary production. Specifically, in order to spark a more energetic reaction from the international public, Juliette Adam (Lamber) cooperated with Bikelas on a series of essays on 'Poètes grecs contemporains'.[46] Published in 1881 in Paris, this widely praised book was translated into Italian a year later by the Triestine Alberto Boccardi, and published with detailed endnotes under the title *Poeti Greci contemporanei*.[47]

The variety of interests of De Gubernatis, the enthusiasm, but also a certain dose of superficiality and rashness, allowed him to address various kinds of issues and themes with unwavering confidence. He ranged from theatre to history, from literary and philological issues to ethnological ones – originating with comparative studies and aiming to serve these. What emerges from his references to the modern Greek world in the *N.A.* is the earnestness of his interest as well, at times, as the rashness in the treatment of the subject. De Gubernatis's approach to neo-Hellenic issues in some way reflects the discontinuous interest of Italy towards the neighbouring Greek nation.

In February 1877, the project to reform the Greek national theatre took shape; it was strongly advocated by Minister of the Interior Alexandros Koumoundouros, in collaboration with the Drama Society of Athens in the person of the poet Alexandros Soutsos. The reform project presented by the latter was welcomed with appreciative enthusiasm by De Gubernatis, whose first studies were devoted to the theatre and who had also written some works for the theatre.[48] Encouraged by the news of the events taking place in neighbouring Greece, De Gubernatis hoped that one day 'a dramatic society might also be founded in Rome, similar to the Athenian one, which would give no rest to parliament and the government, until a national theatre was also established here'.[49]

In January 1878 De Gubernatis offered a general picture of conditions in contemporary Greece based on French book *La Grèce telle qu'elle est* by Pierre A. Moraïtinis, published in Paris in 1877.[50] The opening of the work is indicative: 'So, who are the Greeks? Is there a people worthy of this

46 See Provata, Chapter 4 this volume.

47 Vitti, 'Introduzione', III-XI.

48 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 130.

49 De Gubernatis, 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', *N.A.*, 34 (February 1877), 423.

50 De Gubernatis, 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', *N.A.*, 37 (January 1878).

glorious name? Who are the modern Greeks? Have not the doctrines of Fallmerayer already demonstrated that they have nothing to do with the ancient Hellenes?'[51] De Gubernatis's answer deserves to be quoted in full. For reasons of space, however, only a small passage is here quoted:

> No, the doctrines of Fallmerayer have not proven anything; [...] The judgement of Fallmerayer, who considers the Greeks to be a degenerate people descended from the Slavs, is based on the error of not taking into account all things which the Slavs derived from the Greeks. [...] Now that Greece [...] once again belongs to itself, perhaps not in its entirety, but at least most of it, the ancient native elements are evident again, and they promise to create a new and powerful nationality in a future – perhaps the near future. But we are now far from knowing what contemporary Greece is capable of. The Greeks are unanimous in believing that they are still destined for a great future. [...] It is not a matter of rhetorical exercises [...], of ridiculous vanity related to the certain Greek primacy of the past, though uncertain in the present, always illusory and ambitious, until it has become an acknowledged reality, accepted, preached by everyone.[52]

The cautious statements of De Gubernatis in some way reflected the editorial line of the *N.A.* which distanced itself from 'a certain wishful populism that characterised a simplistic identification with the sentiments of the Greeks'.[53] But in the *N.A.* 'it was common to use the expression "Hellenic idea", recalling in fact the *Megalē Idea*',[54] the term that expressed Greek irredentist policies of pursuing the inclusion of all Greeks still under the Ottoman rule within the borders of a unitary state.

As for the criticism of Fallmerayer's theories, Italian public opinion seemed to have clear ideas. The Hellenist Francesco Zambaldi, in the

51 *Ibidem*, 167.

52 'No, le dottrine di Fallmeraier [sic] non hanno provato nulla; [...] La sentenza del Fallmeraier [sic], che considera i Greci come un popolo degenerato dagli Slavi, si fonda sopra l'errore di non aver tenuto conto di tutto ciò che gli Slavi derivarono dai Greci [...]. Ora che la Grecia [...] se non tutta, in gran parte, almeno, è ritornata di se stessa, riappaiono evidenti gli antichi elementi nativi, e promettono di creare, in un avvenire forse non lontano, una nuova e potente nazionalità. Ma noi siamo ora ben lungi dal conoscere quello, di cui la Grecia contemporanea è capace. I Greci sono unanimi nel credersi ancora destinati ad un grande avvenire [...]. Non si tratta di esercitazioni rettoriche [...], di vanti ridicoli di un primato ellenico certissimo nel passato, molto dubbio ancora, invece, nel presente, e sempre illusorio ed ambizioso, finché non sia diventato una realtà riconosciuta, accettata, predicata da tutti'; *ibidem*, 167–169.

53 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 131.

54 *Ibidem*.

introduction to the work *Οι Σλάβοι εν Ελλάδι* (The Slavs in Greece) by Karl Hopf, translated from German into Greek and published in Venice in 1872, stated clearly: 'the uninterrupted presence of the Greek ethnicity in the homeland territory has been proven beyond doubt, in that same period in which Fallmerayer claims that it had been dispersed'. As a result, 'the ethnic tradition that goes from the people of Xenophon to the people of Botsaris has never been interrupted'.[55] Emilio Teza announced publication of the work in the *N.A.*, in September 1872,[56] inviting the reader to refer to the translation of the aforementioned speech by Ioannou in order to form a view of the literary aspect of the issue addressed.

Let us return to De Gubernatis. After examining the public life of the Greeks – he shows a certain amazement at the high 'number of hospitals, religious organisations, schools, committees, funded in Greece with legacies and private contributions'[57] – he dedicates ample space to Greek literary production. Before turning to the production of contemporary Greek writers, De Gubernatis urges a study of the Greek Middle Ages, and claims – quoting Moraïtinis – that it is a mistake to

> confuse the Byzantine world with the Hellenic world, and that under the medieval Byzantine rule the ancient spirit was indeed vigorous, independent and creator of the Hellenes, so that now it seems it is necessary to study the whole Hellenic Middle Ages from the beginning, the same way that in Italy the Latin Middle Ages were studied all over again starting with [Ludovico] Muratori, who instead of interrupting Italian life, elaborated it in a new, more varied and more brilliant form.[58]

The sensitivity with which De Gubernatis reports Moraïtinis's warning about the study of medieval Greek philology deserves attention. It is well known, in fact, that these studies

> have a relatively recent origin, and owe their existence to that group of scholars [...] who, starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, dedicated themselves to recovering manuscripts, transcribing and publishing texts that had long been ignored or forgotten.[59]

55 Hopf, *Οι Σλάβοι εν Ελλάδι*, δ'–ε'.
56 'Bollettino Bibliografico', *N.A.*, 21 (September 1872).
57 De Gubernatis, 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', *N.A.*, 37 (January 1878), 171.
58 *Ibidem*, 172.
59 Lavagnini, 'Spiridon Zambelios', 193.

The appeal of De Gubernatis to study medieval Greece to a certain degree reflected the interests of the *N.A*. In the fervour of studying and researching the Middle Ages, the Florentine magazine followed, as early as 1866, the historical revaluations and attempts to rehabilitate the Byzantine world, to overturn the negative judgement dating back to the Enlightenment. It is worth noting an anonymous review of the first two volumes of the *Byzantinische Geschichten* by August Friedrich Gfrörer, published in Graz in 1872–1874, which appeared in the 'Bollettino bibliografico' section of December 1874. Its author, aside from evaluating the book's style, distances himself from those who 'have viewed the whole Byzantine history as the history of battles and triumphs and palace revolutions and riots, who no longer sought to investigate its character'.[60] In the following decades, this initial and positive approach to the re-evaluation of the Byzantine world would undergo significant distortion, despite the efforts of a handful of Italian scholars who began to develop the modern field of study of Byzantine literature.

However, while Italian academics turned to Germany[61] – where a short time later (1892) the first teaching position in Byzantine literature was established with Karl Krumbacher, initiator of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* – the Italian interest in the Byzantine world, as reflected in the pages of the *N.A.* (but more generally in the desire of the Italian bourgeoisie to become learned), seemed to remain tied to the orientalising aesthetics that inspired Italian literature of the time.[62] Some of these scholars were also leading figures in the blossoming literary environment of Rome, recently made capital of Italy. In the years in question

> the myth, an exquisitely literary one, of 'Byzantine' Rome was born, whereby the emblematic name of Byzantium evoked two values, which at times converged: on the one hand, it is the Levantine city teeming with activity and shady dealings, while on the other, it is the city already known to European decadence, the sacred city of vices and pleasures, of a refined and corrupt society.[63]

In the literary environment of the capital (where the *N.A*. moved in 1878) appeared the *Cronaca Bizantina*, a literary magazine founded in 1881 by

60 'Bollettino Bibliografico', *N.A*., 27 (December 1874), 996.
61 Follieri, 'La Filologia bizantina in Italia', 389–393.
62 Lavagnini, 'Bisanzio nella letteratura', 750–752.
63 Sormani, *Bizantini e decadenti*, 26.

Angelo Sommaruga and which remained under his direction until 1885. Despite its title the magazine did not focus on Byzantine studies; rather, it stood out for its modernity, as an example of journalism open to novelty. Some of the most important writers of the time (Gabriele D'Annunzio, but also Giosuè Carducci) wrote for it. The *Cronaca Bizantina*, expressing the intolerance and opposition of the intellectuals to the moral decadence of the capital, also constituted a means of exerting pressure and influence on the political scene and Roman institutions of the time.[64]

The term 'Byzantine', therefore, was oftentimes regarded with disdain until the end of the century, also with regard to the Byzantine presence in southern Italy and the fate of Venetian Hellenism. The *N.A.* on several occasions adopted this position, together with the ideological coloration with which the issue was being treated. This emerges clearly in some contributions published in the 1890s. In these articles, if Venice was presented as 'perennially bound to Rome, and thus again opposed to Byzantium', 'Justinian was treated as belonging to the West'.[65] With regard to Byzantine Sicily, the emerging Italian historiography of the Islamic world played an important role.

If the exhortation of De Gubernatis to study medieval Greece sparks our curiosity and interest, the few words dedicated to contemporary Greek scholars indicate clearly that knowledge of modern Greek literature was at time scarce. De Gubernatis warned that 'Ugo Foscolo, Andreas Moustoxidis and the living poet Ioulios Typaldos, whom Florence is honoured to host' were Greek, and marvelled only at the fact that Moraïtinis had not mentioned 'the biographer and scholar Aimilios Typaldos and Mario Pieri, native of Corfu'.[66] It appears that De Gubernatis knew very little about the literary scene in Greece. At the same time, it is surprising to note how modern Greek literary production was focused on the activity of well-known personalities of the Greek diaspora in Italy. The same is true also at the beginning of the following decade. This time the attention shifted to two other personalities of the Greek diaspora, Foscolo and Andreas Kalvos. We are speaking of the publication in the *N.A.* of 'Una lettera inedita di Ugo Foscolo e una canzone di Andrea Calbo', i.e. the *Ode agl'Ioni* unpublished for a long time and first edited by Camillo Antona-Traversi.[67]

These examples indicate a series of attempts, significant but not yet systematic, to study modern Greek literature. An articulated picture of

64 Squarciapino, *Roma bizantina*.

65 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 163.

66 De Gubernatis, 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', *N.A.*, 37 (January 1878), 173.

67 Antona-Traversi, 'Una lettera inedita di Ugo Foscolo e una canzone di Andrea Calbo'.

modern Greece was strongly mediated by the northern European approach (in particular, French), which in the Italian frame of reference took on a consciously sentimental quality. In this cultural realm, as reflected in the *N.A.*, creativity and innovation took centre stage. There was a desire to measure up to the most prominent European countries, ensuring Italian participation in European culture. In politics and diplomacy, a pragmatic approach was emphasised, with a dose of coldness that was itself a revision of the original Risorgimento climate. Philhellenism, reduced to mere cultural complementarity, still survived in the language of the Risorgimento that in Italy was slow to disappear. Italians had been particularly moved by the Greek revolutionary epic, its heroes still admired by the people. It appeared that Greece had nothing else to offer. The lack of national energy, its political instability and the constant dependence on foreign powers seemed to delay Greece's alignment with Europe. The Italian political drive, concentrated on Mediterranean diplomacy, was not able to treat Greece as a counterpart from which to derive the necessary impulse.[68] Thus, in an article entitled 'Pace o Guerra?' by a certain G.B., we read:

> Greece also keeps Europe's concerns alive, indeed it could have taken decisive action in order to influence the fate of the East, if it had not lacked the energy that is required for great endeavours. It seems that the efforts sustained during the war for emancipation have exhausted the country. […] The Hellenic [*ellenico*] people no doubt feels the need to expand […], but do not dare to compromise their modest present state. The future escapes Greece, and the small Balkan states usurp, today more than ever, the place that, by virtue of its past and its traditions, should be held by Greece.[69]

Coming into contact with contemporary Greece caused great disappointment. Greece was no longer the source of attraction it had been in the collective imagination of Italians during the years of the Risorgimento. The reaction to this feeling of disillusionment was to look away, in the direction, once

68 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 148–150.

69 'La Grecia tien deste anch'essa le inquietudini dell'Europa e, a quest'ora, avrebbe esercitato un'azione decisiva sulle sorti dell'Oriente, se non le fosse mancata l'energia ch'è richiesta per le grandi imprese. Pare che gli sforzi, da lei fatti nella guerra di emancipazione, l'abbiano esaurita. […] Il popolo ellenico sente, senza dubbio, il bisogno di espandersi […], ma non ardisce compromettere il modesto suo stato presente. L'avvenire sfugge alla Grecia e i piccoli Stati balcanici usurpano, ogni di più, il posto che ad essa, per virtù del suo passato e delle sue tradizioni, spetterebbe' (G.B., 'Pace o Guerra?', 110–111).

again, of those noble themes, mainly taken from the history of the Greek unification process, embodied by characters still able to arouse the passion of the Italians. The contribution of Giuseppe Chiarini, published in two parts in the *N.A.* of July 1891, with the title 'Lord Byron nella politica e nella letteratura della prima metà del secolo', must be read from this perspective.[70]

De Gubernatis stopped writing for the 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere' in November 1887: '[T]he disappearance of the column [...] also meant events in Greece were no longer reported.'[71] Meanwhile, the long-lasting 'sympathy' between the two countries resurfaced, aimed at the sole operation of promoting the archaeological interests of Italy in Greek territory (in Crete, in particular). Italians continued to speak and write about Greece, raising the spirit of their countrymen, who in the following decade, on the occasion of the Cretan insurrection of 1896, would enthusiastically revive the philhellenic passion of the beginning of the century.

The Cretan uprising of 1896, which led to the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, marked a revival of philhellenism throughout Europe. In Italy, however, even in this circumstance, the well-ensconced philhellenic tradition, promptly revived, must be considered together with other political and cultural factors that had nothing in common with this ideology. The most deeply felt motivation, along with the idea of the 'people in arms', was the almost instinctive sympathy that the Cretan events aroused in the many volunteers who were imbued with the Risorgimento spirit. In large part, they were prone to a sort of cultural sentimentality that clouded the objectivity of their political judgement on the actual situation in Greece, influenced by the notion of a mythical heroism, ready for activation again on this occasion. The *N.A.* participated in the philhellenic enthusiasm,[72] something that can be seen as marking the culmination and end of Italian support for the process of national resolution in Greece. Among the difficulties faced in those years, the magazine's editorial line became markedly nationalistic. The ideological implications, however, did not overshadow the moral debt to the cause of Greek unification.

The attention of *N.A.* to modern Greece, which we have reviewed here, is discontinuous and occasional, certainly not systematic. It reflects in some way the declining interest that the new Italian state had towards neighbouring Greece in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this climate of a profoundly revised Risorgimento, we must also include the

70 Chiarini, 'Lord Byron'.

71 Bellucci, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento*, 149.

72 *Ibidem*, 168.

temperaments of individual personalities who, in addition to their academic activity, continued to take an interest in the literary production of modern Greece. Along with the work of these personalities we must also consider the activity of a series of newspapers and magazines that marginally or with greater interest dealt with Greece. This intense literary activity on several occasions was cultivated in the shadow of the university studies of classical and Byzantine philology, and still today awaits systematic investigation. That activity not only contributed to the dissemination of important studies on modern Greek culture, but also opened the path to its academic study, creating the necessary conditions for the establishment, in the early 1930s, of the first university position for teaching modern Greek studies in Italy.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Articles published in the *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*:

Antona-Traversi, Camillo, 'Una lettera inedita di Ugo Foscolo e una canzone di Andrea Calbo', 76 (15 July 1884), 209–227.

'Bollettino Bibliografico. San Minas, poema lirico di Teodoro Orfanide. Versione dal greco moderno di Luciano Sissa. Ferrara, Bresciami, 1867', 5 (May 1867), 209.

'Bollettino Bibliografico', 21 (September 1872), 231–232.

'Bollettino Bibliografico', 27 (December 1874), 996–997.

Bonghi, Ruggero, 'I partiti politici nel Parlamento italiano', 7 (January 1868), 5–29.

Chiarini, Giuseppe, 'Lord Byron nella politica e nella letteratura della prima metà del secolo', 118 (1 July 1891), 103–123 and (16 July 1891), 245–263.

De Gubernatis, Angelo, 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', 33 (December 1876), 856–887.

—, 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', 34 (February 1877), 394–425.

—, 'Rassegna delle Letterature straniere', 37 (January 1878), 167–187.

D'Istria, Dora, 'I clefti della Grecia moderna', 7 (January 1868), 102–134.

G.B., 'Pace o Guerra?', 107 (1 September 1889), 105–120.

Protonotari, Francesco, '*La Nuova Antologia*', 1 (January 1866), 5–8.

R.F., 'La Grecia nel suo progresso intellettuale. Discorso di Filippo Joannis, trad. da Costantino Triantafillis. Venezia, Tipografia del giornale Il Tempo', 18 (October 1871), 459.

Teza, Emilio, 'Saggi dei dialetti greci dell'Italia meridionale, raccolti ed illustrati da D. Comparetti, Pisa, 1866. (XXVII, 103)', 3 (December 1866), 823–829.

Secondary sources and reference works

Bellucci, Franca, *La Grecia plurale del Risorgimento* (*1821–1915*) (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2012).

Benedetto, Giovanni, 'Rifar da capo: l'istruzione classica dopo l'Unità', in *L'istruzione secondaria nell'Italia unita. 1861–1901*, ed. by Carlo G. Lacaita and Mariachiara Fugazza (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2013), 63–87.

Carpinato, Caterina, 'Studiare la lingua greca (antica e moderna) in Italia. Retrospettiva e prospettive future', in *Storia e storie della lingua greca*, ed. by Caterina Carpinato and Olga Tribulato (Venice: Ca' Foscarina, 2014), 165–217.

—, 'Νεοελληνική γλώσσα και λογοτεχνία στην Ιταλία του 19ου αιώνα (1855–1857): Μερικές παρατηρήσεις στον Tommaso Semmola και τον Niccolò Tommaseo' [Modern Greek language and literature in nineteenth-century Italy (1855–1857): Some observations on Tommaso Semmola and Niccolò Tommaseo], in the Proceedings of the Symposium *Ελληνικότητα και Ετερότητα: Πολιτισμικές διαμεσολαβήσεις και 'εθνικός χαρακτήρας' στον 19ο αιώνα* [Greekness and Otherness: Cultural mediation and 'national character' in the nineteenth century ed. by Anna Tabaki and Ourania Polykandrioti, 2 vols. (Athens: University of Athens/NHRF, 2016), 1, 311–322.

—, 'Ιστορία και ιστορίες της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στην Ιταλία. Μια σύντομη επισκόπηση' [History and stories of modern Greek literature in Italy. A brief overview], in *Μικρό αφιέρωμα στον Mario Vitti* [Small tribute to Mario Vitti], ed. by Dimitris Arvanitakis (Athens: Museum Benaki, 2018), 135–176.

—, 'Lingua e letteratura (neo)greca a Ca' Foscari: 1868-2018. Appunti per una storia del greco e dei greci a Venezia negli ultimi 150 anni', in *Le lingue occidentali nei 150 anni di storia di Ca' Foscari*, ed. by Anna Cardinaletti, Laura Cerasi, and Patrizio Rigobon (Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2018), 85–116.

Ceccuti, Cosimo, 'Risorgimento greco e filoellenismo nel mondo dell'"Antologia"', in the Proceedings of the Congress *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia,* Athens, 2–7 October 1985 (Florence: Olschki, 1987), 79–131.

—, *Antologia della 'Nuova Antologia' (1866–2000). Centotrentacinque anni di impegno culturale e civile* (Florence: La Loggia, 2000).

Conti, Fulvio, 'Protonotari, Francesco', in *Dizionario Biografico Treccani,* vol. 85 (2016). [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-protonotari_(Dizionario-Biografico)/] (15 December 2018).

De Francesco, Antonino, *The Antiquity of the Italian Nation: The Cultural Origins of a Political Myth in Modern Italy, 1796–1943* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Degani, Enzo, 'La filologia greca nel secolo XX', in *La Filologia greca e latina nel secolo XX. Atti del Congresso Internazionale,* Roma, 17–21 settembre 1984 [Greek and Latin philology in the twentieth century: Proceedings of the International

Congress, Rome, 17–21 September 1984], 2 vols. (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori in Pisa, 1989), 2, 1065–1140.

De Simone Brouwer, Francesco, 'Per gli studi neoellenici in Italia. Nota di F. de Simone Brouwer, presentata dal Corrispondente A. Sogliano', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, vol. 17, series 5 (1908), 607–641.

Follieri, Enrica, 'La Filologia bizantina in Italia nel secolo XX', in *La Filologia medievale e umanistica greca e latina nel secolo XX. Atti del Congresso Internazionale,* Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Università La Sapienza, 11–15 dicembre 1989 [Medieval and humanistic Greek and Latin philology in the twentieth century: Proceedings of the International Congress, Rome, National Research Council, La Sapienza University, 11–15 December 1989], 2 vols. (Rome: Sapienza University, 1993), 2, 389–431.

Giardina, Andrea, and André Vauchez, *Il mito di Roma. Da Carlo Magno a Mussolini* (Bari: Laterza, 2016).

Guida, Francesco, 'Correnti e iniziative filelleniche in Italia dopo il Congresso di Berlino (1878–1886)', in *Garibaldi e il filellenismo italiano nel XIX secolo* (Athens: Italian Institute of Culture, 1985), 71–101.

Hopf, Karl, *Οι Σλάβοι εν Ελλάδι. Ανασκευή των θεωριών Φαλλμεράϋρ μεταφρασθείσα εκ του Γερμανικού υπό Φραγκίσκου Ζαμβάλδη καθηγητού εν Βενετία* [The Slavs in Greece: The reconstruction of Fallmerayer's theories translated from the German by Francesco Zambaldi Professor at Venice] (Venice: Il Tempo, 1872).

Ioannis, Filippos, *La Grecia nel suo progresso intellettuale. Discorso di Filippo Joannis* [...] *recato in italiano da Costantino Triantafillis* [...] (Venice: Il Tempo, 1871).

Isabella, Maurizio, *Risorgimento in esilio. L'internazionale liberale e l'età delle rivoluzioni*, trans. by David Scaffei (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2011) [original: *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)].

Lamber, Juliette (Mme Adam), 'Poètes grecs contemporains' series in *La Nouvelle Revue*: 'Poètes grecs contemporains', École ionienne, 3 (15 March 1880), 368–377; 4 (15 June 1880), 839–860; École de Constantinople, 6 (15 October 1880), 852–883; École d'Athènes, 8 (1 February 1881), 628–659; École épirote, 9 (15 March 1881), 370–411.

Lamber, Juliette, *Poètes grecs contemporains* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1881).

Lavagnini, Renata, 'Bisanzio nella letteratura del XIX e del XX secolo', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, 3. *Le culture circostanti*, vol. 1, *La cultura bizantina*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2004), 729–764.

—, 'Spiridon Zambelios pioniere degli studi di filologia greca medievale', in *Vie per Bisanzio: VII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini,* Venezia, 25–28 novembre 2009 [*Vie per Bisanzio*: Proceedings of the

7th National Congress of the Italian Association of Byzantine Studies, Venice, 25–28 November 2009], ed. by Antonio Rigo, Andrea Babuin, and Michele Trizio (Bari: Edizioni di Pagina, 2013), 191–201.

Liakos, Antonis, *L'unificazione italiana e la Grande Idea, 1859–1871*, pref. by Stuart Woolf, trans. by Andreas Giacumacatos (Florence: Aletheia, 1995).

Mackridge, Peter, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Nikas, Konstantinos, 'Η αλληλογραφία του Νικολάου Πολίτη με τον Angelo de Gubernatis' [The correspondence of Nikolaos Politis with Angelo de Gubernatis], in *Ευτυχισμός. Τιμή στον Ερατοσθένη Γ. Καψωμένο* [Eftychismos: Honour to Eratosthenis G. Kapsomenos], ed. by Georgia Ladogianni, Apostolos Benatsis, and Kleoniki Nikoloudaki (Ioannina: University of Ioannina, 2010), 391–402.

Noto, Andrea G., *La ricezione del Risorgimento greco in Italia (1770–1844). Tra idealità filelleniche, stereotipi e Realpolitik* (Rome: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2016).

Perlorentzou, Maria, *La lingua greca dalla κοινή al XX secolo. Dati storici ed evoluzione linguistica* (Bari: Istituto di Studi dell'Europa Orientale, 1996).

Rotolo, Vincenzo, *A. Koraìs e la questione della lingua in Grecia* (Palermo: Quaderni dell'Istituto di Filologia greca, 1965).

Scalora, Francesco, *Sicilia e Grecia. La presenza della Grecia moderna nella cultura siciliana del XIX secolo* (Palermo: Quaderni 19, Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici 'B. Lavagnini', 2018).

Sormani, Elsa, *Bizantini e decadenti nell'Italia umbertina* (Rome / Bari: Laterza, 1981).

Squarciapino, Giuseppe, *Roma bizantina: società e letteratura ai tempi di Angelo Sommaruga*, pref. by Pietro P. Trompeo (Turin: Einaudi, 1950).

Triandafillis, Costantino, 'Studio critico sull'Agorà di Demetrio Paparrigopulo', *Rivista Filologico-Letteraria*, 1:3 (1871), 129–160.

Vitti, Mario, 'Introduzione', in *Poeti greci contemporanei. Studi di J. Lamber* (Venice: Anastatic Reprint, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2010; first edition: Naples: Antonio Morano Editore, 1882), iii–ix.

About the author

Francesco Scalora holds a PhD in Greek and Latin philology from the University of Palermo and in modern Greek philology from the University of Crete. He has served as a postdoctoral researcher in modern Greek history at the University of Athens and as a research collaborator at the Institute of Historical Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation. He is currently a research fellow in modern Greek studies at the University of Padua and at the Harvard University's Center for Hellenic Studies in Greece.

His research interests include Italian philhellenism, the Greek student presence in Padua (fifteenth through nineteenth centuries), the Italian press and modern Greek studies (nineteenth century) as well as the Greek-Albanian diaspora in Italy (fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries). He is author of the books *Sicily and Greece: The Presence of Modern Greece in the Sicilian Culture of the Nineteenth Century* (Palermo, 2018, in Italian), *Voices from the Aegean* (Palermo, 2020, in Italian) and *Greek Students at the University of Padua, Fifteenth Century–1570* (Padua, 2020, in Italian). Email: francesco.scalora@unipd.it.

7. An interesting utopian undertaking: The Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam and the journal *Ελλάς/Hellas* (Leiden, 1889–1897)

Lambros Varelas

Abstract
This chapter deals with the journal *Ελλάς/Hellas* (Leiden, Holland, 1889–1897). It examines the broader frame of the periodical's publication and the intentions of its editorial board. *Ελλάς/Hellas* was the organ of the Philhellenic Society in Amsterdam, which was founded in April 1888. The Society's basic aim was the support and promotion of the modern Greek language (*katharevousa*, an archaic, purified form of Greek used for official and literary purposes) as an international language, in opposition to the appearance and diffusion of invented languages such as Volapük and Esperanto. The Society and its journal make also a special plea for substituting modern Greek, and the modern pronunciation with it, for the ancient Greek taught in elementary instruction in Europe. This chapter examines this experiment as a utopian effort in the late nineteenth century.

Keywords: H.C. Muller, *Ελλάς/Hellas*, Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam, Volapük, Esperanto, Erasmian pronunciation

Holland geht uns urplötzlich voran! In such a celebratory tone regarding the leading role of the Netherlands did the then prominent, albeit now forgotten, German philologist and linguist August Boltz (1819–1907) complete his book *Hellenisch die internationale Gelehrtensprache der Zukunft*.[1] The Netherlands

1 Boltz, *Hellenisch die internationale Gelehrtensprache der Zukunft*, 315.

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH07

had long been associated with the cultivation of classical studies, in which Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus, better known as Erasmus (1466–1536), was a leading figure, while classical studies in the nineteenth century were dominated by Professor C.G. Cobet (1813–1889), who published the important journal *Mnemosyne* (Leiden, 1852 onwards) from 1856 and was a teacher of, inter alia, Konstantinos S. Kontos (1834–1909), a Greek philologist and professor at the University of Athens, with whom they jointly published the scholarly journal *Λόγιος Ερμής* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1866–1867 and Athens, 1876).[2]

Boltz by no means praises the Netherlands for these past endeavours, but rather for the initiative that led to the spring 1888 establishment of the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam, which aspired to become the unifying association of philhellenes worldwide. The history of its foundation, its objectives and its initiatives will be presented in detail below. The journal *Ελλάς/Hellas*, which will also be examined in the present essay, was the printed expression of this Society's aims and aspirations.

Precedent analogues

The Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam was founded in April 1888, yet it was certainly not the first initiative of its kind in Europe. It took inspiration from earlier attempts that had taken place, particularly in France and the UK. The Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France, founded in 1867 in Paris,[3] had already run a long course; its main aim being to promote proper methods and to publish useful books for the study of Greek language and literature. The Association, which had attracted 600 members and donors since its first year of operation, also published the annual journal *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques* (1867 onwards), which later evolved into the *Revue des études grecques* (1888 onwards). An equally influential scholarly association was founded in London in 1879: the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, which also boasted a serial publication with a wide circulation, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1880 onwards), and had more than 600 registered members.[4] Along with other associations of smaller scale, these two important philhellenic societies,

2 Schouten, *Het grieks aan de Nederlandse universiteiten in de negentiende eeuw*.

3 Papadopoulou, *Les Grecs à Paris*, 163–164 and 197–199; Mitsou, 'Négoce et transfert culturel'.

4 Macmillan, *An Outline of the History of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies*; Christopoulou, *Ο Ιωάννης Γεννάδιος*, 204–206.

which officially focused on philological issues and deliberately excluded politics from their aims (although they actually indirectly contributed to the strengthening of the national claims of the modern Greek state), functioned as models for the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam.

As with similar endeavours, the emergence of such activities is the combined result of a wider mood and the initiatives of certain individuals who become active at the most opportune moment and when conditions are right. This was the case with the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam; a climate of philhellenic support had already been emerging in large European cities, upon which a small group of Dutch philhellenes relied to establish a philhellenic society in the capital of their country.

The Society and its journal were founded at a time of intense activity revolving around the desirability of the establishment of a world language that would facilitate communication between citizens of different nations. Such a requirement was not a new one, and many suggestions had been submitted and explored over the course of time. However, since the seventeenth century this had become a more pressing demand due to the growth of trade and colonialism. The need was further intensified in the nineteenth century, especially from mid-century onwards, when there was a transition from the *langue universelle* of Enlightenment intellectuals (that is, a language which would have been the perfect medium for the expression of human thought) to *langues internationales auxiliaries* (auxiliary international languages) serving more practical and useful objectives related to trade and social life.[5] This intriguing issue has been extensively explored by L. Couturat and L. Leau,[6] Mario Pei,[7] Andrew Large,[8] and more recently by Arika Okrent, who has composed a list of 500 invented languages in chronological order of their being devised.[9] Of these invented languages, the remarkable number of 60 emerged during the period from 1850 to 1890, which is indicative of the then imperative nature of the demand for a language for universal communication. It is well known that only two of these numerous languages became prevalent and were used extensively. These were Volapük, an invention of J.M. Schleyer in 1879, and Esperanto, a creation of Z.Z. Zamenhof in 1887.[10] Dutch Hellenists took the initiative to establish the Philhellenic Society and set the establishment of Greek as

5 Diatsentos, *La question*, 102.
6 Couturat and Leau, *Histoire de la langue universelle*.
7 Pei, *One Language for the World*.
8 Large, *The Artificial Language Movement*.
9 Okrent, *In the Land of Invented Languages*, 258–274.
10 Large, *The Artificial Language Movement*, 64–76.

a global communication language as one of their main objectives, because they saw the likelihood of Volapük being established as such.

The proposal for the establishment of Greek as a universal language was not a new one, for it had been circulating as a well-defined plan within the circles of Greek and French intellectuals since the 1850s. The roles played by the Greek scholar, university professor and state official Markos Renieris (also Marco Renieri, 1815–1897), and even more by the French Hellenist and political philosopher Gustave d'Eichthal (1804–1886) are well-documented. Renieris was the first to propose, in response to the Crimean War, the establishment of Greek as a common language for the peoples of the south-eastern Mediterranean, with the aim of civilising them and facilitating Greek domination over that particular geographic area.[11] This idea was quickly embraced and extended by d'Eichthal, who backed the establishment of Greek (that is, ancient Greek) as an international language rather than solely a regional one.[12] More specifically, as a first measure towards the establishment of ancient Greek as an international language he proposed that the modern Greek (*katharevousa*) language be added to school curricula and the modern Greek (non-Erasmian) pronunciation be adopted as the first step towards the teaching of ancient Greek.[13]

D'Eichthal's proposal emphasised two other closely associated issues: a) the question of how ancient Greek was to be pronounced, and b) the status of Hellenic studies in Europe.[14] It is a well-known fact that from the mid-nineteenth century onwards a number of European philhellene scholars (G.T. Pennington, F.D. Dehèque, J.S. Blackie, J. Telfy, Adolf Ellissen, W. Brunet de Presle, etc.) raised the question of ancient Greek pronunciation for a variety of reasons: so that an end would be put to the errors of the Erasmian pronunciation, the pronunciation of ancient Greek would become uniform across Europe, and a degree of convergence between the teaching of ancient and modern Greek would be achieved.[15]

D'Eichthal's proposals also stressed ipso facto the necessity of cooperation between Greek scholars with European Hellenists.[16] It was this necessity that provided the impetus for the foundation of philhellenic societies in Europe, the most important being the aforementioned Association pour

11 Diatsentos, *La question*, 73–84.

12 D'Eichthal and Renieri, *De l'usage pratique de la langue grecque*; Diatsentos, *La question*, 85 *et passim*; Provata, 'Η Ελληνική ως διεθνής γλώσσα', and Provata, Chapter 4 in this volume.

13 D'Eichthal and Renieri, *De l'usage pratique de la langue grecque*, 10.

14 Diatsentos, *La question*, 95.

15 *Ibidem*, 96.

16 D'Eichthal and Renieri, *De l'usage pratique de la langue grecque*, 8.

l'encouragement des études grecques en France in Paris in 1867. Many were the contributors to this joint venture of Greek and European Hellenists, among whom the then famous Greek intellectual, writer and diplomat Alexandros Rizos Rangavis (1809–1892) played a central role. In his capacity as Greek ambassador to Germany, he arranged for the printing of the volume entitled *Die Ausprache des Griechischen* (Leipzig, 1883), and spurred on the German Hellenist philologist Eduard Engel into publishing his own study entitled *Die Aussprache des Griechischen, ein Schnitt in einen Schulzopf* (Jena, 1887), in which he criticised Erasmian pronunciation and proposed its replacement by modern Greek pronunciation (that is, to pronounce η, ι, υ, οι, ει = [i], ω, ο = [o], αι, ε = [e], β = [v] etc.). In Athens, the philologist Theodoros Papadimitrakopoulos printed his lengthy study *Βάσανος των περί της ελληνικής προφοράς ερασμικών αποδείξεων* [Examination of the Erasmian evidence on Greek pronunciation, 1889] in which he too meticulously refuted Erasmian pronunciation.[17] In turn, d'Eichthal revived this reform by publishing his study 'La langue grecque comme langue scientifique commune' in the *Revue scientifique* (19 January 1884),[18] inspiring the German August Boltz to issue the volume *Hellenisch: die allgemeine Gelehrtensprache der Zukunft* (Leipzig, 1888; 2nd ed.: *Hellenisch: die internationale Gelehrtensprache der Zukunft* [Leipzig, 1890]). In his preface, Boltz acknowledges having been influenced by the proposals of d'Eichthal and Renieris.

From this brief account it is evident that the seeds that led to the creation of the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam in the spring of 1888 had been sowed over a lengthy period of time. However, as stated already, the right people are required at the right time, and in this case, three were the Dutch Hellenists who stepped forward to found a philhellenic association in their own country.

The Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam

The primary driving force, mastermind and soul of the overall venture was Hendrik Clemens Muller (1855–1927). He had a vigorous and creative personality, with many ambitions, as well as a tendency towards confrontation; his public and private life, which has been accounted for in detail by Frans Oerlemans and Peter Janzen, was turbulent.[19] Here we shall focus

17 Papadimitrakopoulos, *Βάσανος*. Cf. Provata, Chapter 4 in this volume.

18 D'Eichthal, *La langue grecque*, 307–320.

19 Oerlemans and Janzen, '"Kliekgeest beheerscht hier alles"'.

on his activities in relation to Greece, as he devoted his energies to the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam and its periodical publication *Ελλάς/ Hellas* for a decade, from approximately 1887 until 1897. A Hellenist and classical philologist (having completed his doctoral degree at the University of Leiden under Gobet) as well as a poet, he participated in the 1881 foundation of Flanor, a literary society. Simultaneously he became involved with other freethinkers in the socialist union De Dageraad, and under the influence of the writings of the revolutionary writer Multatuli (the author of *Max Havelaar*), on whose work he had given a lecture in 1883, penned articles in the journal *Recht voor Allen* in close collaboration with the socialist politician Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis. He drifted away from the socialist milieu around 1887 and it was about this time that he abandoned revolutionary political activity and embraced a new cause, the promotion of modern Greek language and literature, the application of modern Greek pronunciation to the teaching of ancient Greek and the campaign for the establishment of modern Greek *katharevousa* (a purified form of Greek used for official and literary purposes) as the global language of scholars. Since 1879, he had been teaching ancient Greek and Latin at Stedelijk (now Barlaeus) Gymnasium in Amsterdam. On 26 October 1888, he began teaching modern Greek language and literature at the University of Amsterdam as a privatdocent. Evidence can be derived from his correspondence and from the archive of the Gymnasium of Amsterdam that he had numerous confrontations with the administrators of the Gymnasium, from which he was eventually dismissed in April 1897, while in March 1898 he was stripped of his university position.[20] Muller's oeuvre is extensive and multifaceted, exceeding 600 entries by 1915,[21] yet the main body of work on Greek issues that concern us is found in his numerous articles in the six volumes of the journal *Ελλάς/ Hellas* (1889–1897) as well as in the two-volume *Historische Grammatik der Hellenischen Sprache. Erster Band: Grammatik* (Leiden: Brill, 1891) and *Zweiter Band: Chrestomathie in chronologischer Reihenfolge* (Leiden: Brill, 1892), that were published as the first (and eventually the only) volumes in the series 'Hellenische Bibliothek oder Sammulng von Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete der alt-, mittel- und neugriechischen Sprache und Litteratur', the editors of which being Muller himself and A.J. Flament.[22]

20 *Lijst der geschriften*, 8.

21 *Lijst der geschriften*; Meertens and Welcker, 'Muller, Hendrik Clemens'.

22 Archival materials of H.C. Muller are housed in the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam, but according to the list of the contents of the Muller archive in the IISH, the 'Dossier Griekse brieven' and the 'Dossier Philhelleense beweging' files, which are mentioned by Muller's son, as well as by the donor of the archive Joan Muller in his own index, have not

The second figure who was involved in the foundation of the Philhellenic Society, albeit to a lesser degree than Muller, was A.J. Flament (1856–1925), who worked as an assistant archivist in Maastricht and was well versed in both ancient and modern Greek. Flament served as assistant secretary as well as long-term editor-in-chief of *Ελλάς/Hellas*. He had previously contributed articles on modern Greek language and literature to Dutch and Greek journals. In 1883 his translation of Anacreon verses ('Op een duifje') was printed in the journal *De Amsterdammer* (9 September 1883), and he later published his study on the modern Greek language entitled 'Nieuw grieksch' in the journal *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (27 March 1886). A study of his on the pronunciation of Greek in the schools of Belgium and the Netherlands ('De Geschiedenis van de uitspraak der Grieksche taal in Europa, in het bizonder in de Belgische en Hollansche scholen') was published in *De Amsterdammer* (1 April 1888). On the same subject, he had earlier published in the Greek journal *Έσπερος* [Hesperus] (Leipzig, vol. 7, no. 162, 12/27 January 1888) the study 'Περί της προφοράς της Ελληνικής γλώσσης εν τη Δύση και ιδίως εν τοις Σχολείοις του Βελγίου και της Ολλανδίας' [On the pronunciation of Greeks in the West and especially in the schools of Belgium and Holland], which was written originally in modern Greek. His bibliography also includes translations of modern Greek poems into Dutch, such as a memorial poem about the death of the seven-year-old Georgios, son of Piraeus citizen Dimitrios Kydoniotis (published in *De Amsterdammer*, 1 April 1888). He also translated into Dutch Spyridon Trikoupis's eulogy on the death of Lord Byron ('De lijkrede op lord Byron, door Spiridon Trikoupis').

The third individual actively involved in the establishment of the Philhellenic Society and a member of its journal's editorial board, was Mrs M. Zwaanswijk, a Hellenist from Nijmegen, who had published in 1885 a short guide to the teaching of modern Greek (*Korte leidraad voor het leeren der hedendaagsche helleensche taal en iets over de 'Volapük'* [Nijmegen, 1885]).

Apart from these three figures, the undertaking was encouraged by other Dutch Hellenists, who either became members of the Society or contributed articles to the journal *Ελλάς/Hellas*, as will be discussed later. Nikolaos Vlachos, the consul general of Greece to Amsterdam, must also have played a role in the encouragement of Dutch Hellenists and the Society's

survived (Campfens and Welcker, 'Archief Hendrik C. Muller'). Another part of Muller's archival material is kept at the Literatuurmuseum in Hague, but it is still not indexed. Hero Hokwerda, who is preparing an analytical project on the whole of this archival material (to whom I would like to offer warm thanks for the information he has provided me), has conducted on-site research revealing that one of the six boxes contains letters, dated between 1887 and 1893, that Muller received from Greek correspondents.

foundation, for he was on friendly terms with H.C. Muller and served as the Philhellenic Society's first treasurer; in all likelihood he supported the Society by channelling financial donations from the Greek government.

The Society was founded on 14 April 1888. Alexandros Rizos Rangavis was appointed honorary president, as he was one of the best-known and most respected Greek writers of his era in Europe. A. Van den Es, rector of Amsterdam Gymnasium and professor of Greek archaeology in the city's university, was nominated as president; the rector of the Zwolle Gymnasium, E. Mehler, as vice-president; H.C. Muller as secretary; A.J. Flament as vice-secretary; N. Vlachos as treasurer; and F.L. Abresch as vice-treasurer. Finally, H.C. Roge, who was a historian and director of the Library of the Academy and the National Library, was appointed director of the Society's library. He was well-versed in ancient and modern Greek and had translated Dimitrios Bikelas's novel *Λουκής Λάρας* (*Loukis Laras*) into Dutch in 1882, rendering it the first modern Greek literary work to have been translated in the Netherlands.[23] In the following years, the members appointed to the aforementioned official positions would change periodically, depending on their obligations, interpersonal relations, etc.

The Society also boasted a library, with the aforementioned H.C. Roge in charge, and received donations from mainly ethnic Greeks but also international Hellenists. The books, short offprints, journals and newspapers that the Society received were listed systematically in each issue of *Ελλάς/ Hellas*, sometimes including a critical analysis of their content.

The Society held an annual general assembly at Hotel Krasnapolsky in Amsterdam: the first of these was held on 15 September 1888, the second on 14 September 1889, the third on 20 September 1890, the fourth on 26 September 1891, the fifth on 24 September 1892, the sixth on 30 September 1893, and the seventh on 20 October 1894. No exact information exists concerning later assemblies, nor on whether or when the Society was dissolved. Although the journal regularly featured information and references pertinent to the Society's assemblies, no mention is made in the journal's final volume about any assemblies taking place after 1894, or about the Society's fate. In all likelihood, the Society became inactive and faded into obscurity after 1897.[24]

The Society's foundation was enthusiastically received by the Greek-speaking world. Subsequent articles referring to the Society, Muller himself

23 Raoul, 'Ο Φιλελληνικός Σύλλογος Αμστελοδάμου'; Ioannidou, 'Οι ελληνικές σπουδές στην Ολλανδία', 96.

24 In the list of Muller's works there is a reference to a manuscript that Muller himself composed with the indication 'Philhelleensche Vereeniging te Amsterdam – Archief der-. In handschrift. Amsterdam, 1888–1897', but it has yet to be located in the author's extant archive (Muller, *Lijst der geschriften*).

and the journal were many and laudatory. As with similar past cases, many influential figures of Greek politics, intellectual life, trade, aristocracy, members of the Greek diaspora, as well as philhellenes outside Greece, pledged their support for the Society by enrolling as full members or by offering substantial donations (entrepreneur Konstantinos Zappas and banker Andreas Syngros each donated 500 francs to the Society).[25] The Society itself responded by offering some of those individuals honorary membership. Apart from Rangavis, other figures who became honorary members include the heir to the Greek throne, Crown Prince Constantine, the philhellene heir to German duchy Saxe-Meiningen throne, Prince Bernhard, the German Hellenist August Boltz, the wealthy Greek merchant from London G. Valieri, as well as the Italian-Austrian linguist and philhellene Constantino Reyer. In later years, more people of influence (mainly from Greece) were added as honorary members.

The undertaking was well-organised and sufficiently publicised in the Greek press so as to attract as many members as possible, since the desired pool from which it mainly wished to recruit was Greece and the Greek diaspora, even though it was a broadly philhellenic society. Indeed, within its first year of activity the Society managed to register approximately 450 members, which was, however, the highest that would ever be reached. The lists corresponding to each country were printed on the last page of each issue of *Ελλάς/Hellas.* From the Netherlands came 64 members, a number that did not increase but rather dropped in later years. The largest percentage of remaining members did not consist of philhellenes but of Greeks, living both within Greece and in the diaspora, particularly in nations, regions and cities with large Greek communities, such as Great Britain, Russia, Romania, Italy, Constantinople and Smyrna. In later years, the number of members decreased for reasons that will be discussed later. Muller himself estimated the Society's active members in 1891 to be about 250.[26]

That said, in the Society's early years, that is from spring 1888 until 1892, and before stagnation and decline had set in, a network for the promotion of the Society had been built up in the Greek press. During his final years, the Society's honorary chairman, Alexandros R. Rangavis, systematically encouraged Greek newspaper readers to enrol as members.[27] Other influential figures of Greek intellectual life, journalism and politics followed

25 *Ελλάς/Hellas*, 1 (1889), 238, and 2 (1890), 82–83.

26 *Ελλάς/Hellas*, 3 (1891), 339–346, 469.

27 See, e.g., *Ακρόπολις* [Acropolis], 17 March 1889. The annual subscription had been set at 7 drachmas.

Rangavis's example, including the vigorous publisher of the major newspaper *Ακρόπολις* [Acropolis], Vlassis Gavrielidis, who was of the opinion that Greece could make significant gains in the diplomatic field by supporting the Society.[28] Another person who played a role in promoting the Society was the professor of modern Greek at the University of Naples, Andreas P. Pharmakopoulos,[29] whom Muller had met in Amsterdam and with whom he had started corresponding. During the second half of 1888, Greek newspapers with a large circulation (*Ακρόπολις* being the most prominent) published letters written by important members of the Society, both Greek and non-Greek, so as to make the Society widely known and to encourage Greeks to support its initiatives and objectives. Thus, Callirhoe Parren, publisher of the *Εφημερίς των Κυριών* [Ladies' Newspaper], urged the readers of her periodical to enrol as members, and offered to dispatch the Society's statute to any woman interested.[30] Her appeal was translated into Dutch (possibly by H.C. Muller) and published in the Amsterdam newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* (15 September 1888).

Muller himself corresponded with Greek intellectuals (including, among others, Alexandros R. Rangavis,[31] Andreas P. Pharmakopoulos, Spyridon Lambros and Dimitrios Bikelas), published articles in Greek journals (*Έσπερος* [Hesperus], Leipzig, no. 154, 15/27 September 1887, no. 158, 15/27 November 1887, etc.) and newspapers, and notified the journals' readership about the Society's activities (for instance, about the enrolment of prominent people).[32] He also submitted his Greek-language poetry for publication in Greek newspapers, such as his eulogy on the death of Carel Vosmaer, a Dutch poet, art critic, publisher of the journal *De Nederlandsche Spectator* and his Dutch translation of Homer's *Iliad*.[33] Muller also wrote for any European publications he had access to, such as the Halle newspaper *Zeitung für das höhere Unterrichtswesen*, where he publicised the activities and programme of the Society. Naturally, Muller also wrote in Dutch journals, aiming to expand the circle of Dutch supporters of the Society and its serial publication. Furthermore, translations of studies written by Muller were published in Greek newspapers, such as the research paper entitled 'La prononciation du grec dans les gymnases (lycées) de la Hollande', which appeared in *Ελλάς/Hellas* and was translated into Greek by G.A. Politis in *Εφημερίδα της*

28 Β., 'Φιλελληνική εταιρία'.
29 Pharmakopoulos, 'Ο Φιλελληνικός Σύλλογος'.
30 Parren, 'Και πάλιν περί της γλώσσης μας'.
31 See Muller, 'Οι εν Ολλανδία Έλληνες'.
32 See Muller, 'Φιλελληνικός Σύλλογος'.
33 Muller, 'Προς τον αποβιώσαντα κ. C. Vosmaer'.

Ερμουπόλεως [The Newspaper of Hermoupolis].[34] In addition, his opening address as privatdocent of modern Greek language and literature at the University of Amsterdam on 26 October 1888, which was later published in *Ελλάς/Hellas*, was also translated and printed in Greek journals.[35] In general, Muller was a figure who enjoyed Greek media attention due to his central role in the Society.

Muller visited Greece twice, in summer 1892 and December 1893, respectively. During both visits, he addressed the Parnassos Philological Society and his speech was commented on by many newspaper journalists. His first trip took the form of a fact-gathering visit facilitated by the Dutch government in order to observe the teaching system of ancient Greek in Greek schools. On his return to the Netherlands, he published a report in the newspaper *Nederlandsch Staatsblad* (22 November 1892). Following his second journey, he immediately published his impressions in a series of articles in *De Amsterdammer* journal (17, 24, 31 December 1893–7, 14, 21 January 1894), plus a summary in *Ελλάς/Hellas* (vol. 5, 264–276). While on his second trip, besides meeting with the then-prime minister Charilaos Trikoupis, the leader of the opposition Theodoros Diligiannis and other significant personalities (University of Athens professors, gymnasium tutors, members of literary societies, etc.), he organised a meeting with Greek members of the Philhellenic Society and set up a six-member committee tasked with boosting the Society's activities in the Middle East.

The journal *Ελλάς/Hellas*

Beginning in early 1889, the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam publicised its goals and initiatives, communicated with its members and generally made itself visible through the pages of *Ελλάς/Hellas*. As suggested by its subtitle ('Ελλάς. Περιοδικόν του εν Αμστελοδάμω Φιλελληνικού Συλλόγου'/'Organe de la Société philhellénique à Amsterdam'), it constituted the Society's mouthpiece. The decision to publish the journal was made during the first members' session on 15 September 1888. Society members reached an agreement with Leiden publishing house E.J. Brill on a deposit of 400–500 florins for the realisation of the publication, a sum that was eventually collected from donations. Some contributions from Dutch, Greek and other scholars

34 Muller, 'La prononciation' and its Greek translation appeared in *Εφημερίς της Ερμουπόλεως* [The Newspaper of Hermoupolis], 126–130 (March–April 1890).

35 Muller, 'Hellenisch' and Muller, 'Η ελληνική'.

(H. Kern, August Boltz, C. Salvadori, N. Dossios, A.P. Pharmakopoulos and others) had already been secured. The first editorial board of *Ελλάς/Hellas* was appointed during the same session, consisting of Mrs M. Zwaanswijk, A.J. Flament and H.C. Muller. Zwaanswijk left at the time of the third volume in 1891 and was replaced by Gymnasium of Amsterdam tutor Y.H. Rogge; Flament left at the time of the fourth volume, succeeded by Woerden judge P.J. Swaving, while only H.C. Muller and Y.H. Rogge remained for the fifth volume. No data exists with regard to the sixth volume, and responsibility for the journal appears to have been taken over exclusively by Muller. Articles were accepted in five languages, depending on each contributor's preference: French, German, English, Latin and Greek (Italian and Dutch were added later). The journal was publishing four issues per year, which were subsequently compiled in an annual volume. The first issue was published in early 1889. Six volumes were published in total, the first four at regular intervals (volumes one in 1889, two in 1890, three in 1891 and four in 1892), while the final two were issued after a considerable delay (volumes five in 1895 and six in May 1896–1897).

The journal's front cover was carefully considered, reflecting both the classicism of the editorial board members and the faith they had in contemporary Greek culture. A modified version of a popular illustration of the Acropolis and the Parthenon viewed from the side of the Temple of Olympian Zeus dominates the front cover's picture. In the foreground, sections of the columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus can be discerned, with plants on the left and right, a road leading to the Acropolis, the Acropolis and the Parthenon in the background, and the sun rising above the site. This central picture is adorned with a strip of flowers, palmettes, and the sign of the cross, all of which is surrounded by a meander frame with palmettes on all four sides. Based on existing paintings and photographs of the classical monument, such an image constitutes an imaginary representation that seeks to symbolically depict the Helleno-Christian character of Greek culture. The image attaches great importance to the ancient Greek element but deploys the rising sun to imply the regenerative role of Greece in the region of the Eastern Mediterranean (a recurrent argument in Muller's and other philhellenes' articles).

The journal featured a dense network of contributors comprising Hellenists and philhellenes, mainly from Europe but also from America, as well as Greek scholars and authors from both inside Greece and from the diaspora. This network was mainly coordinated by H.C. Muller, who eventually shaped the overall image of the journal and established the circle of contributors according to his views on the Greek language, as well as his personal connections and the affinities and antipathies he created.

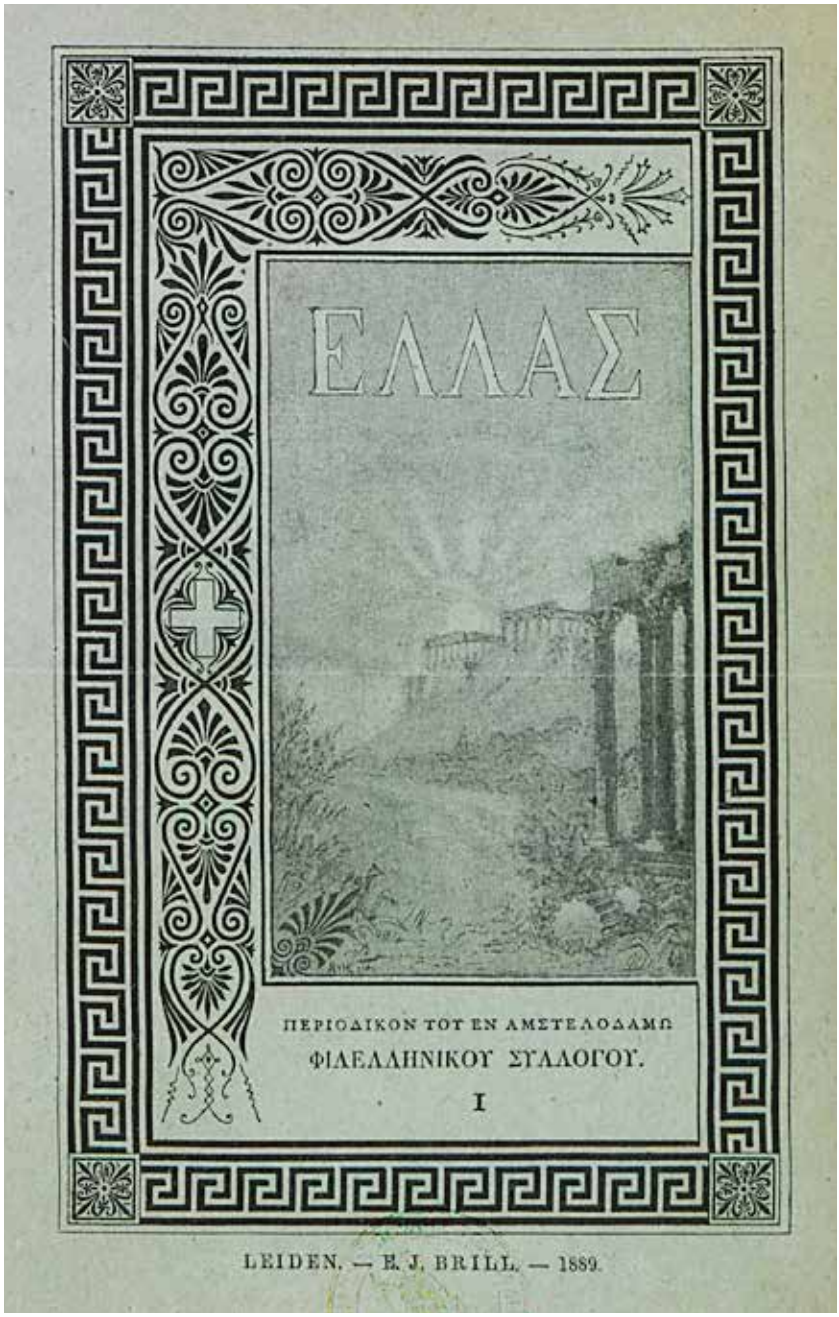


Figure 7.1. Front cover of the first volume of the journal *Ελλάς/Hellas*. Reproduced with permission of the Library of the Hellenic Parliament.

Studies on the Greek language (ancient Greek, modern Greek dialects, etc.) and on the question of the pronunciation and teaching of Greek in European schools and universities were featured among the journal's pages, along with modern Greek literary texts, both in the original and in translation. This content was supplemented with reports of the overall activity of the Society located on the back pages of each issue, comprising chiefly of its initiatives, resolutions, letters sent by members and readers, books, magazines and newspapers received for review by the journal, as well as registrations and cancellations of memberships.

The most consistent German contributor was the polymath, polyglot and prolific professor and scholar August Boltz from Darmstadt. Boltz had a significant presence in the journal, as he published studies on the etymology of Greek words, was responsible for the column 'Bibliography' related to modern Greek literature and language, and translated modern Greek literary texts into German. Another German contributor was the linguist and literary scholar Eduard Engel (1851–1938) from Berlin, but his connection with the journal ceased after disagreeing with Muller on the modern Greek language question, as Engel was in favour of the spoken vernacular form, while Muller preferred *katharevousa*. Other German participants included the classical philologist Hans Müller from Halle, the lawyer L. Khulenbeck from Osnabrück, the archivist and historian Paul Mitzschke from Weimar, who had a particularly strong presence in the fifth volume, to which he contributed linguistic studies and literary translations from modern Greek.

Apart from the omnipresent figure of H.C. Muller, who wrote studies and book reviews, provided translations and set the overall tone of the journal with his commentaries (it is probable that he was responsible for the contributions from the pseudonym 'Irneh' present in volume 6), other Dutch participants who contributed research articles included the classical philologist and professor H. Kern from the University of Leiden, A.J. Flament, Mrs M. Zwaanswijk, and Professor I.M.J. Valeton of the University of Amsterdam. Occasional contributions were received from the following teaching colleagues of Muller at the Amsterdam Gymnasium: W. Jaspar from Rolduc, G.J.P.J. Bolland from Batavia, J.M. Hoogvlied from Wageningen, Edward B. Koster from Doetinchem (who translated *Anthologia Palatina* into Dutch) and Fred. Berens from Amsterdam.

Italian collaborators included the tutor of ancient Greek, Carlo Salvadori, from Lodi; the linguist and proponent of physical education Constantino Reyer (1828–1931) from Trieste; F. di Mento (a Corfu resident); and P.E. Pavolini, who sent his contributions either from Berlin or from Rome.

Articles from Great Britain were sent in by the renowned Scottish university professor J.S. Blackie, who was an advocate of the modern Greek pronunciation, Launcelot D. Dowdall from Brighton (whose work also included translations into ancient Greek), and Mary C. Dawes, who contributed studies and literary translations from modern Greek.

Hungarian article contributors were the well-known Professor J.B. Telfy of the University of Budapest, and Benedikt Csaplár. Scarcer were collaborations from Switzerland, with the country being represented solely by Professor Jules Ferrette from Lausanne. The only American philhellene who cooperated with the journal was Professor Albin Putzker from Berkeley.[36] The absence of French Hellenists and philhellenes is conspicuous, as only Émile Legrand sent one study of his for publication.

The number of participating Greek scholars and literary writers both from inside the Greek state and the diaspora was large. This fulfilled a basic objective not only of the Society as a whole, but also of Muller as an individual. Alexandros Rizos Rangavis, who, as mentioned earlier, was a world-renowned author and intellectual partly due to his tenure as Greek ambassador to the United States and Berlin, cooperated with the journal on the language question and the pronunciation of ancient Greek. His son Cleon Rangavis, also notable for the various diplomatic positions he had held, contributed with studies and poems in *katharevousa*. Other collaborators included professor and author Nikolaos Dossios (1856–1932) from Galați, Romania; A.P. Pharmakopoulos from Nafplio, who taught modern Greek in Naples; poet and teacher proficient in German Florentia Foundoukli (1869–1915); New York resident Konstantinos Kazantzes (1864–1927), who was a scholar and prose writer from Ioannina, Epirus; scholar G.A. Politis from Hermoupolis, Syros, who extensively promoted the Philhellenic Society on his island by recruiting members, writing about it in local newspapers and later becoming its delegate in the Eastern Mediterranean; University of Athens linguistics professor Georgios N. Hatzidakis; Georgios Sotiriadis, who was then teaching at Greek schools in Philippoupolis, Thrace, and later became a professor at the University of Athens; Professor Theodoros Papadimitrakopoulos from Athens, who, as already mentioned, had published a massive study criticising the Erasmian pronunciation; well-known historian and geographer Margaritis Dimitsas; consul general of Greece to Budapest Pavlos Harissis; Professor D.E. Oikonomidis from Constantinople; A. Sardellis from Bucharest; and Professor I.K. Mitsotakis from Berlin.

36 Putzker, 'A plea for modern Greek'.

The modern Greek literary writers, whose poems either appeared in the original or translated, were the following poets: Georgios Drosinis, Argyris Eftaliotis, Ioannis Polemis, Aristomenis Provelengios, Georgios Souris, Kostas Krystallis, P. Salmas, all of whose poems were translated into German by Boltz, who also translated Greek folk songs; Bikelas (translated into German by W. Rüdiger), Rizos Rangavis (translated into Dutch by Muller and into German by O.A. Ellissen), and the deceased poets Athanasios Christopoulos (translated into German by Paul Mitzschke), Georgios Zalokostas (translated into Dutch by Muller and into Latin by Launcelot Dowdall), and Ioannis Karasoutsas. A poem by Aristotelis Valaoritis was translated into Italian with the original text in parallel by Professor Giovanni Canna of the University of Pavia, a poem of Georgios Martinelis was translated by F. di Mento, while the Briton Mary C. Dawes translated into English a poem of Georgios Souris, who was famous in Greece at the time, at the suggestion of Muller. The reverse practice can also be attested, albeit more rarely: a poem by the Italian G. Carducci was translated into Greek by P.E. Pavolini, while poems of D.G. Rossetti and John Milton were translated into Greek by Launcelot D. Dowdall. There are also instances of poems published exclusively in their original Greek form, such as those by Cleon Rangavis, a then-well-known poet writing in *katharevousa*, as well as a then-obscure young professor from Spetses Island, I.G. Giannoukos (1866–1942), who later became known by the pen name Giannis Pergialitis.[37]

From a general overview of the contents of the six volumes of the journal, it is obvious that literature is not its strong point. The poems chosen for inclusion are not the most representative of the best of Greek literature being written at the time. The older literary generations are represented by the poems of the Phanariot Athanasios Christopoulos; the romantics by Zalokostas, Karasoutsas, Valaoritis and Rizos Rangavis. The contemporary emerging generation of the 1880s, the generation of 'Parnassianism', is represented by Drosinis, Eftaliotis, Polemis, Provelengios, Souris and Krystallis. Also featured are two poems by very well-known Greek literary figures, but more on account of their political and social actions than their literary accomplishments: the diplomat Cleon Rangavis and the pan-European benefactor Dimitrios Bikelas. However, important poets of the past few decades are omitted altogether, such as the Ionian Islanders Dionysios Solomos and Andreas Kalvos, as well as those from the contemporary era, such as Kostis Palamas, Gerasimos Markoras and others. The selection

37 Pergialitis's poems were sent by Muller to Bikelas for corrections and to solicit his opinion of them. See Muller's letters to Bikelas in Konstantellias, *Δημήτριος Βικέλας*, 496, 498.

of modern Greek literary works appears to have been partly random, apparently due to the personal preferences and literary connections of August Boltz. Muller himself does not seem to have been very informed about contemporary literature in modern Greek, which may explain why some poems (e.g. those of Giannoukos) seem to have been published solely because they were sent by their author to Muller and not on account of their literary quality.

The absence of much modern Greek prose in the journal is conspicuous and cannot be fully explained. Only fables for children by Panagiotis Ferbos (translated into German by Boltz, with the Greek original in parallel) and the short story 'Paoulina-Paoulina' by the promising new author Giannis Kambysis appeared on its pages.[38] None of the important realist novelists of the 1880s (Alexandros Papadiamantis, Georgios Vizyenos, Andreas Karkavitsas, Michael Mitsakis) are represented, although Boltz had in fact translated short stories by some of them into German. Possibly the absence of prose fiction can be explained by the large amount of space that would have been required for its accommodation within the journal's pages, resulting in reduced space for the core content of the journal: scholarly research articles, the history of the Greek language and discussions of the pronunciation issue. After all, this is the area on which the journal had focused most of its attention: the publication of philological studies relating to the Greek language, its history, its dialects and the question of its pronunciation, as well as persuading its regular readership and literary figures around the world that Greek was the only suitable language to be established as the common global means of communication, the main raison d'être of the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam.

As stated earlier, the journal and the Society's activities enjoyed widespread, but short-term, popularity. Scores of philhellene Hellenists, and Greek cultural circles were mobilised into supporting the journal and the Society, enrolling as members and subscribers, utilising communication networks they had at their disposal, and publishing favourable reviews in publications they collaborated with. Another fact worth mentioning is that Constantino Reyer printed 1000 copies of the journal's first issue at his own expense and dispatched it to university professors, newspapers and ministries in Austria-Hungary, Italy and Greece.[39] In January 1892, Greek Prime Minister Theodoros Diligiannis awarded the Knights' Gold Cross of the Royal Order of the Redeemer to the Society's President Van den Es and

38 *Ελλάς/Hellas*, 6 (1896–1897), 168–181.

39 *Ελλάς/Hellas*, 1 (1889), 172.

the Silver Cross to Secretary H.C. Muller, while the University of Athens donated 294 francs to the Society.[40]

Nevertheless, the journal's circulation and the Society's growth were not satisfactory. The pool of supporters was not widened in the Netherlands. The issue of the replacement of the Erasmian pronunciation by the modern Greek one, which was the Society's main demand, proved to be an impediment to its progress. The aspiration both of the Philhellenic Society and of Muller himself was for the modern Greek pronunciation to be universally introduced into the teaching of ancient Greek in all gymnasiums of the Netherlands. To that end, the contact network that the Association of Gymnasium Teachers in the Netherlands (the president's position of which was again held by Van den Es) was employed, and some research was conducted on the pronunciation of ancient Greek and the potential for the implementation of the modern Greek pronunciation.[41] The findings of the research were announced in the journal, where it was shown that most tutors of ancient Greek in the Netherlands were unfavourably disposed towards such a prospect.[42]

This demand met with a certain degree of resistance even in Greece, since it was coupled with the suggestion that minor changes be made in the modern Greek pronunciation as well, mainly with regard to the pronunciation of the letter *ipsilon* (υ). This proposal was submitted to the University of Athens as an official demand.[43]

The main obstacle the Society faced, however, was that Muller became engaged, willingly or unwillingly, in the language debate in Greece between demoticists and supporters of *katharevousa*, which also took its toll on the journal and the Society. Muller's contacts with Greek scholars and authors, as well as most of his articles in the journal, made it clear that he was a proponent of *katharevousa*. This was something he stated explicitly in the fourth volume of the journal: 'The *katharevousa* form must remain the medium with which all European scholars and Hellenists should interact and cooperate.'[44] This brought him into conflict with the advocates of the vernacular form known as demoticists, whose leading figure was the Greek and French linguist Giannis Psycharis (perhaps this explains why membership in France was remarkably low). When Muller visited Athens in the summer of 1892 and lectured at the Parnassos Philological Society, a

40 *Ελλάς/Hellas*, 4 (1892), 124–125.
41 *Ελλάς/Hellas*, 1 (1889), 239.
42 Muller, 'La prononciation'.
43 *Ελλάς/Hellas*, 2 (1890), 336–337, 3 (1891), 85–86, and 4 (1892), 57.
44 *Ελλάς/Hellas*, 4 (1892), 493.

debate developed in the press on whether, strictly speaking, he belonged to the *katharevousa* camp or not. The important poet and demoticist Kostis Palamas attempted to prove that Muller did not reject the demotic language outright,[45] but in reality, Muller had chosen sides: alignment with the *katharevousa* supporters. Muller's allegiances were made even more evident by a scathing article he published in *De Amsterdammer* in May 1893 criticising D.C. Hesseling's pamphlet *Over het grieksch der middeleeuwen: voordracht gehouden den 27sten april 1893 ter opening van de lessen over middeleeuwsch en nieuw-grieksch* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1893) in response to the commencement of lessons in medieval and modern Greek by the latter, who was then a privatdocent at the University of Leiden and later became a well-known historian of modern Greek literature.[46] As a student of Giannis Psycharis, and by extension a supporter of the demotic, Hesseling objected to Muller's standpoint which resulted in the deterioration of the relationship between the two Hellenists. Muller even felt that Hesseling did not acknowledge the work of the Philhellenic Society and *Ελλάς/Hellas*, and he made no effort to hide the irritation in his criticism.

Thus, the language question, which haunted Greek society and culture for centuries, was one of the main reasons why the Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam gradually declined, lost members and did not find new contributors for the journal. Additionally, since 1893 Greece had been experiencing serious financial problems, which eventually culminated in one of the country's most devastating debt defaults. This resulted in ever fewer members and subscribers, and the Society faced difficulties even publishing the journal, resulting in the three-year gap between the appearance of the fourth and the fifth volumes.[47]

Muller himself appears to have lost his enthusiasm for the venture, as his involvement in Greek issues had certainly gained him fame and recognition, but he had not secured the financial stability and professional position he desired. On 13 October 1894, he wrote in French to Dimitrios Bikelas with whom he had been corresponding, asking for his help via his connections to find a job outside the Netherlands.[48] He had recently failed to secure

45 P., 'Η ομιλία του κ. Muller'.

46 Muller, 'Middeleeuwsch'.

47 In many letters sent by H.C. Muller to Spyridon Lambros (Spyridon Lambros's Archive, the Historical Archive of the University of Athens), we can see Muller's anxiety over the reduction in subscribers. I warmly thank Georgia Gotsi for this piece of information.

48 Nine letters sent by Muller to Bikelas, dated from 19 July 1888 to 13 October 1894, all written in French, are kept in the Bikelas Archive at the National Library of Greece. See Konstantellias, *Δημήτριος Βικέλας*, 494–502.

the Greek teaching position at the University of Groningen, which was awarded instead to the Dutch classical philologist H.J. Polak (1844–1908) despite the intervention on his behalf of Van Lennep, the consul general of the Netherlands to Greece. It is obvious that Bikelas was not successful in securing Muller a position in France, since some years later (in June 1896 and again in March 1898) the latter found himself in the United States seeking a stable job position from the first president of Johns Hopkins University, Daniel Coit Gilman, as a teacher of ancient or modern Greek or comparative literature, or even as a librarian.[49]

The aforementioned change and Muller's concerns were reflected in the sixth and final volume of *Ελλάς/Hellas*, which featured inter alia several papers on general linguistics, ethnology and ethnography, without, however, abandoning its focus on Greek cultural subjects. After all, since 1897 Muller had shifted his attention to other interests. He toured Great Britain as a Dutch government delegate to study the propagation of university education. While there, he lectured on the Philhellenic Society along with other subjects. He turned to world literature and became one of the pioneers of comparative literature in the Netherlands, studied ancient Greek and Latin law, and developed an interest in medicine and its terminology, without confining his interest to those fields. His concern about modern Greek issues diminished but did not disappear completely, for he continued to sporadically write articles on the value of the humanities, and more particularly on the teaching of ancient Greek as a language kept alive via the modern Greek pronunciation, on the fate of ancient and modern Greek studies in the United States, and published passionate book reviews about Greek or philhellenic publications[50]; these and his many other activities have been documented in his *Lijst der geschriften.*

The endeavour of Dutch philhellenes in founding the Philhellenic Society and publishing the journal was an interesting but utopian undertaking, which reflected the visionary passions of people nurtured by the ideals of classicism and Renaissance humanism. However, its

49 See his two digitized letters to Gilman, dated 1 June 1896 and 30 March 1898, along with a detailed list of all previous bibliography, at https://bit.ly/2LXGO2L.

50 See, for instance, his review of the Dutch translation of the novel *Το Βοτάνι της Αγάπης* (*Het Liefdekruid: een roman van het land* [Rotterdam, 1921]) by the Greek author Georgios Drosinis, translated by J.-A. Lambert-van der Kolf and published in the journal *Den Gulden Winckel*, 21 (1922). Moreover, according to H. Hokwerda, Muller's archive in the Literatuurmuseum in The Hague contains the hand-written manuscript of the 7 November 1920 lecture entitled 'Comment je suis devenu philhellène', which he delivered in French before the members of the Greek community in Paris.

foundations were romantic and unfeasible, since it proved impossible to achieve the abolition of the long-established Erasmian pronunciation, and the imposition of the language of a state as small as Greece as a world language, especially when that state was entangled in a linguistic divide and had yet to solve its own language question. Nevertheless, beyond the enthusiasm of the individuals who conceived and coordinated this project, the accomplishment of the six large volumes of *Ελλάς/Hellas* and the numerous linguistic and literary articles published in its pages remain a noteworthy achievement.

Bibliography

Primary sources

B., 'Φιλελληνική εταιρία' [Philhellenic Society], *Ακρόπολις* [Acropolis], 4 August 1888.

Boltz, August, *Hellenisch die internationale Gelehrtensprache der Zukunft*. Zweite, vermehrte Auflage (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Friedrich, 1890, [1]1888).

D'Eichthal, Gustave, and Marco Renieri, *De l'usage pratique de la langue grecque* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1864).

D'Eichthal, Gustave, 'La langue grecque comme langue scientifique commune', *La langue grecque. Mémoires et Notices 1864-1884* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1887), 308-320 (= *Revue scientifique*, 19 January 1884, 77-80).

Ελλάς/Hellas, 1 (1889), 2 (1890), 3 (1891), 4 (1892), 5 (1895), 6 (1896-1897).

Muller, H.C., 'Προς τον αποβιώσαντα κ. C. Vosmaer' [In memoriam C. Vosmaer], *Ακρόπολις* [Acropolis], 22 August 1888.

—, 'Οι εν Ολλανδία Έλληνες περί της γλώσσης ημών' [The Holland Greeks for our language], *Ακρόπολις* [Acropolis], 9 November 1888.

Müller, Hans, *Das Verhältnis des Neugriechischen zu den romanischen Sprachen: eine sprachvergleichende Betrachtung* (Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Friedrich, 1888).

Muller, H.C., 'Φιλελληνικός Σύλλογος' [Philhellenic Society], *Ακρόπολις* [Acropolis], 23 June 1888.

— (trans. by ΣΜ), 'Η ελληνική και ως κοινή των λογίων γλώσσα. Εναρκτήριος λόγος' [The Greek as a Common Scientific Language. Keynote speech], *Απόλλων* [Apollon] (Piraeus), 59 and 60 (August and September 1889) 905-908, 921-924.

—, 'La prononciation du grec dans les gymnases (lycées) de la Hollande', *Ελλάς/Hellas,* 1 (1889), 248-264.

—, 'Hellenisch, auch als allgemeine Gelehrtensprache', *Ελλάς/Hellas,* 2 (1890), 103-122.

—, 'Verslag eener wetenschappelijke zending naar Griekenland, in den zomer van 1892', *Nederlandsch Staatsblad*, 275, 22 November 1892.
—, 'Middeleeuwsch en Nieuw-Grieksch', *De Amsterdammer*, 28 May 1893.
—, 'Reisindrukken', *De Amsterdammer. Weekblad voor Nederland*, 17, 24, 31 December 1893 – 7, 14, 21 January 1894.
—, 'Skizzen aus einer Reise nach Athen', *Ελλάς/Hellas,* 5 (1895), 264-276.
—, 'Nieuw-Grieksche romans', *Den Gulden Winckel*, 21 (1922), 100-103.
P. [Palamas, Kostis], 'Η ομιλία του κ. Muller εν τω "Παρνασσώ"' [Mr. Miller's speech in 'Parnassos'], *Εφημερίς* [Newspaper], 20 July 1892 (= *Άπαντα* [Complete works], 15, 125-128).
Papadimitrakopoulos, Theodoros, *Βάσανος των περί της ελληνικής προφοράς ερασμικών αποδείξεων* [Examination of the Erasmian evidences on Greek pronunciation] (Athens 1889).
Parren, Callirhoe, 'Και πάλιν περί της γλώσσης μας' [Again about our language], *Εφημερίς των Κυριών* [Ladies' Newspaper], 21 August 1888.
Pharmakopoulos, Andreas P., 'Ο Φιλελληνικός Σύλλογος εν Αμστελοδάμω' [The Philhellenic Society in Amsterdam], *Ακρόπολις* [Acropolis], 5 August 1888.
Putzker, Albin, 'A plea for modern Greek', *Ελλάς/Hellas,* 5 (1895) 377-382.
Raoul, 'Ο Φιλελληνικός Σύλλογος Αμστελοδάμου' [The Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam], *Ακρόπολις* [Acropolis], 24 June 1888.
Zwaanswijk, M., *Korte leidraad voor het leeren der hedendaagsche helleensche taal en iets over de 'Volapük'* (Nijmegen 1885).

Secondary sources and reference works

Campfens, M., and J.M. Welcker, 'Archief Hendrik C. Muller 1882-1926 (-1954) 1882-1826' [List of Muller's archive in the International Institute of Social History (IISH)]. [https://search.socialhistory.org/Record/ARCH00911/Export?style=PDF] (29 November 2020).
Christopoulou, Marianna D., *Ο Ιωάννης Γεννάδιος και η διαμόρφωση της εθνικής πολιτικής της Ελλάδας (1871-1918)* [John Gennadius and the formation of the Greek national policy (1871-1918)], PhD Dissertation (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2012).
Couturat, L., and L. Leau, *Histoire de la langue universelle* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1903).
—, *Les nouvelles langues internationales. Suite à l'Histoire de la langue universelle* (Paris 1907).
Diatsentos, Petros, *La question de la langue dans les milieux des savants grecs au XIX^e^ siècle. Projets linguistiques et reformes,* PhD Dissertation (Paris: EHESS, 2009).

Ioannidou, Marietta, 'Οι ελληνικές σπουδές στην Ολλανδία' [Modern Greek Studies in Holland], in John N. Kazazis (ed., in collaboration with S. Velkova), *Οι ελληνικές σπουδές στην Ευρώπη. Ιστορική ανασκόπηση από την Αναγέννηση ώς το τέλος του 20ού αιώνα* [Greek studies in Europe. Historical review from the Renaissance to the late twentieth century] (Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language, 2007), 95-102.

Konstantellias, Charalampos A., *Δημήτριος Βικέλας. Άτυπος πρεσβευτής των εθνικών θεμάτων και των ελληνικών γραμμάτων. (Με βάση ανέκδοτες αρχειακές πηγές)* [Dimitrios Bikelas. Informal ambassador of national issues and modern Greek letters. (Based on unpublished archival sources)] (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin ton Ofelimon Vivlion, 2018).

Large, Andrew, *The Artificial Language Movement* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985).

Lijst der geschriften, hem op zijn zestigsten verjaardag door vrienden aangeboden (Utrecht 1915).

Macmillan, George A., *An Outline of the History of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1879-1904* (London 1905).

Meertens, P.J., and Johanna M. Welcker, 'Muller, Hendrik Clemens', *Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland,* 1 (1986), 85-87. [https://socialhistory.org/bwsa/biografie/muller] (29 November 2020).

Mitsou, Marie-Élisabeth, 'Négoce et transfert culturel. Dimitrios Bikélas et le réseau intellectuel franco-grec dans la seconde moitié du XIX^{e} siècle', *Rives méditerranéennes,* 50: 1 (2015), 13-25.

Oerlemans, Frans, and Peter Janzen, '"Kliekgeest beheerscht hier alles"'. Het opstandige leven van H.C. Muller', *De Parelduiker,* 6: 2 (2001), 2-17. [http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_par009200101_01/_par009200101_01_0010.php] (29 November 2020).

Okrent, Arika, *In the Land of Invented Languages. Esperanto Rock Stars, Klingon Poets, Loglan Lovers, and the Mad Dreamers Who Tried to Build a Perfect Language* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2009).

Papadopoulou, Despina, *Les Grecs à Paris à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle: la construction d'une communauté migrante* (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales [EHESS], 2004).

Pei, Mario, *One Language for the World* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1958).

Provata, Despina, 'Η Ελληνική ως διεθνής γλώσσα: Μια ουτοπική πρόταση του Gustave d'Eichthal' [Greek as an international language: The utopian proposal of Gustave d'Eichthal], in the Proceedings of the First International Conference *Language in a Changing World,* ed. by E. Leontaridi *et al.* (Athens: National and Kapodistrian University of Athens – Language Centre, 2008), 447-453.

Schouten, D.C.A.J., *Het grieks aan de Nederlandse universiteiten in de negentiende eeuw. Bijzonder gedurende de periode 1815-1876* (Utrecht: Pressa Trajectina, 1964).

About the author

Lambros Varelas earned his BA in modern Greek literature at Aristotle University, Thessaloniki. He also earned an MA and a PhD at the same university. In 2001 he was appointed a researcher on modern Greek and European literature at the Centre for the Greek Language (Thessaloniki, Greece). Since 2010 he has been teaching as an Associate Professor in the School of Philology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. His research interests include nineteenth- and twentieth-century modern Greek literature and literary texts in education and literary magazines. He is the author of ten books. His latest book is the edition of Giannis Skarimbas, *Two Buffoons' Waterloo: A Drama in Three Acts* (Nefeli, 2017). He has published a number of research papers in various journals and in conference proceedings. Email: lvarelas@lit.auth.gr.

8. Les études de grec moderne en Allemagne et la revue *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1892–1909)

Marilisa Mitsou

Résumé
L'article retrace le développement des études de grec moderne en Allemagne à travers les différents domaines d'intérêt: les chants populaires et le folklore, la lexicographie et l'histoire du vernaculaire, l'historiographie philhellénique, la littérature médiévale et moderne. Dans ce contexte, l'apport de Karl Krumbacher à l'émancipation des études byzantines et néo-helléniques fut décisif. Avec son *Seminar für mittel- und neugriechische Philologie* et sa revue *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (*1892–1909*) le byzantiniste a non seulement encouragé les recherches sur le monde grec médiéval et moderne et promu les échanges intellectuels dans plusieurs thématiques, mais il a réussi à créer un vaste réseau de linguistes, ethnologues, archéologues, théologiens, hellénistes, médiévistes et néo-hellénistes, qui ont partagé, au tournant du XX^{e} siècle, une forme de 'philhellénisme scientifique'.

Mots-clés: Byzance, chants populaires, études néo-helléniques, philhellénisme, grec moderne vernaculaire

Dans sa 'leçon d'ouverture' du cours de grec moderne à l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes à Paris, le 20 février 1904, Jean Psichari, nommé professeur de cette chaire à la mort d'Émile Legrand (1887–1904), choisit de présenter à son auditoire le tableau des études de grec moderne en France au XIX^{e} siècle. Psichari voyait dans l'introduction de l'enseignement du grec vulgaire à l'École, le 15 frimaire an IX (16 décembre 1800), 'un premier éveil du philhellénisme en France', l'écho d'un projet politique, plutôt fade, du général

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press* (*1850–1900*). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH08

Bonaparte de rétablir une 'République grecque'. Cependant, s'empressait de remarquer par la suite le linguiste, il serait faux de vouloir attribuer au philhellénisme l'émergence des études néo-grecques en France ou ailleurs; le philhellénisme 'a fait la Grèce', soulignait-t-il. Et il complétait: 'Peut-être aurait-il dû s'en tenir là […]. Le philhellénisme exagéré […] a hypnotisé la Grèce dans une imitation vague du passé, l'affaiblissant du même coup pour les créations de l'avenir'.[1]

Somme toute, le philhellénisme classique n'était donc pas à l'origine des études de la langue et de la culture de la Grèce moderne; bien au contraire, attaché aux cnémides et aux chlamydes, il avait plutôt retardé leur développement. En effet, jusqu'à la fin des années 1860, la production philhellénique française se limitait à des récits de voyage, à quelques enquêtes géographiques et historiques réalisées par les membres de l'École française d'Athènes, à certains rapports politiques sur la question d'Orient et aux *Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne* de Claude Fauriel. Pour ce qui est de l'enseignement, le citoyen Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison (1753–1805), helléniste, éditeur de l'*Iliade* (1788) et premier professeur de grec moderne à l'École des langues orientales entre 1800 et 1802, avait placé le grec moderne sous les auspices d'Homère, en développant dans ses cours 'l'origine et les principes du grec vulgaire' et en expliquant à ses étudiants 'le *Γεωπονικόν*, ou *Traité d'agriculture* d'Agapius [Landos], et l'*Αραβικόν μυθολογικόν*, Contes arabes traduits en grec vulgaire'. Son successeur et premier titulaire de la chaire, Karl Benedikt Hase (Charles Benoît Hase, 1819–1864) s'intéressait plutôt aux étapes intermédiaires du grec postclassique, ecclésiastique et byzantin, auxquels Brunet de Presle (1864–1875) adjoindra par la suite le grec savant des papyrus gréco-égyptiens. Emmanuel Miller (1875–1887), fidèle au grec puriste, abordera par la suite le grec médiéval tardif, en éditant des poèmes prodromiques, la *Chronique de Chypre* et les lexiques du XV^{e} siècle.[2]

Philhellènes, græcophiles ou mishellènes,[3] les premiers néo-hellénistes de France étaient principalement des éditeurs de textes byzantins et post-byzantins. Ce n'est qu'avec la création de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France, en 1867, et la publication de son *Annuaire* (1868–1887), remplacé plus tard par la *Revue des études grecques*

1 Psichari, 'Les études de grec moderne en France au XIX^{e} siècle', 222, 228.

2 *Ibidem*, 221, 226, 229–233; cf. Tonnet, 'Grec moderne'; Mitsou, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών', 315–316.

3 Voir Tolias, '*Græcophile* et *mishellène*'. Le bilan du voyage de Villoison en Grèce (1784–1786) s'était révélé catastrophique: 'Je n'ai connu de nation plus vile que la nation grecque', cit. par Korais, *Αλληλογραφία*, 199, cf. Tolias, '*Græcophile* et *mishellène*', 61. Sur le terme *græcophile*, 57–58: '*Græcophilie* et *Græcophobie* semblent des termes plus aptes à désigner l'attrait ou la répulsion ressentis face aux réalités diverses de la civilisation grecque'.

(1888), que les études sur la Grèce moderne devaient gagner en visibilité au sein des études grecques. Mais c'est surtout grâce à l'élection de l'éminent helléniste Émile Legrand (1841–1903) à la chaire de grec moderne de l'École des langues orientales (1887–1903) que 'la langue du peuple hellène', à savoir le vernaculaire, constituera enfin un objet d'études dans l'enseignement supérieur français. Ainsi, en France comme en Allemagne, la langue populaire contemporaine (le démotique) sera réhabilitée et étudiée comme matière scientifique à la fin du XIX[e] siècle.[4]

D'après le tableau présenté par Psichari lors de sa conférence inaugurale, le développement des études de grec moderne en France avait donc suivi un processus linéaire correspondant à l'évolution même du grec à travers les âges: les hellénistes du XIX[e] siècle étaient d'abord devenus des byzantinistes, puis des néo-hellénistes.[5] Psichari lui-même avait occupé, depuis 1885, un poste de philologie byzantine et néo-grecque à la IVe section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, avant de rejoindre l'École des langues orientales. Quant aux recherches favorisées par l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques et mises en valeur dans son *Annuaire*, elles devaient longtemps rester conformes au modèle tripartite de l'hellénisme qui implique le principe de continuité culturelle et linguistique depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos jours.[6] Ainsi, l'image de la Grèce cultivée par les institutions de recherche et d'enseignement françaises de la deuxième moitié du XIX[e] siècle était celle d'un hellénisme idéalisé, totalement cohérent et diachronique.

***

Le statut des études grecques n'était guère différent en Allemagne, culturellement 'tyrannisée par la Grèce' depuis l'établissement de l'idéal winckelmannien et la *Bildung* hellénique de Wilhelm von Humboldt – et ce malgré la proximité du régime bavarois avec les Grecs contemporains.[7] Jusqu'aux années 1870, la prépondérance du *Griechenmythos*, du néo-humanisme, de l'*Altertumswissenschaft* et du culte de l'archéologie avaient étouffé tout intérêt scientifique pour une langue et une culture épigonales. Comme en

4 Psichari, 'Les études de grec moderne en France au XIX[e] siècle', 233.

5 Sur la continuité de la langue grecque 'depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours', voir aussi Psichari, *Études de philologie néogrecque*, iv–cxx.

6 Sur l'Association et l'*Annuaire*, voir Katsigiannis, chapitre 3 dans le présent volume.

7 En 1832, Othon (1815–1867), deuxième fils de Louis de Bavière, fut choisi par les Grandes Puissances comme le premier souverain de la Grèce indépendante; il est resté au pouvoir pendant trente ans. Sur le mythe grec allemand, voir Butler, *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany*; Andurand, *Le mythe grec allemand*.

France, la plupart des travaux allemands sur la Grèce moderne, son histoire, son peuple, sa littérature, sa langue, n'allaient pas au-delà d'un amateurisme philhellène ou d'ébauches de projets ambitieux.

Ainsi, à l'exception de l'ouvrage de Fallmerayer, qui provoqua plus de réactions en Allemagne qu'en Grèce, le seul manuel d'histoire paru en Allemagne dans la première moitié du XIX[e] siècle et qui s'inscrit dans le courant de l'historiographie philhellène – l'*Histoire de la Grèce* de J.W. Zinkeisen (1803–1863) – n'est original que dans sa première partie qui s'arrête au XI[e] siècle; la deuxième partie, qui porte sur l'histoire de la Révolution grecque et le gouvernement de Kapodistria, constitue un développement de l'œuvre classique de Thomas Gordon, tandis que le deuxième volume consacré à l'histoire byzantine n'a jamais vu le jour.[8] Malgré ses études approfondies à Iéna, Göttingen, Munich, Leipzig et Paris, Zinkeisen n'a pas réussi, tout comme son aîné, l'helléniste Carl Iken (1789–1841), à obtenir un poste universitaire. Gagné par le journalisme et la politique, il a bâti sa carrière comme directeur des journaux *Preußische Staatszeitung* et *Allgemeine Preußische Zeitung*, tout en restant un historien très influent au sein de l'historiographie grecque.

Plus centrés sur la Grèce contemporaine, les ouvrages concurrents de Friedrich Thiersch (1784–1860) et de Ludwig von Maurer (1790–1872), qui furent tous deux directement impliqués dans la formation de l'État grec indépendant – le premier en tant que 'véritable incarnation du philhellénisme bavarois',[9] le second comme membre de la Régence et initiateur des institutions législatives en Grèce – tentent, dans les années 1830, une approche interdisciplinaire de l'histoire récente du pays. Dans leurs ouvrages ils mettent l'accent sur l'économie de la Grèce, sa géographie, ses institutions, son administration, sa population et avant tout sur son avenir politique comme puissance chrétienne aux confins de l'Europe.[10] Bien que cruciales pour la compréhension du peuple grec, ces deux études n'ont pas eu de suite; elles sont restées des références au sein de la littérature philhellène. Thiersch qui, bien avant son séjour en Grèce, à la fin des années 1820, avait manifesté un vif intérêt pour la culture grecque moderne, n'a plus voulu l'intégrer ni dans son séminaire de philologie à l'Université de Munich

8 Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Anfange geschichtlicher Kunde bis auf unsere Tage*; Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*. Sur l'ouvrage de Zinkeisen, voir Koubourlis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές*, 320–376.

9 Espagne, 'Le philhellénisme entre philologie et politique', 68.

10 Thiersch, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce*; Maurer, *Das griechische Volk*; cf. Thiersch, *De la Régence en Grèce*. Sur l'apport de Thiersch à la restauration de la Grèce, voir *Friedrich Thiersch und die Entstehung des griechischen Staates*; Loewe, *Friedrich Thiersch*.

ni dans ses publications ultérieures. Tout en restant fidèle à ses amis et correspondants en Grèce, l'helléniste n'a plus investi intellectuellement dans cette 'nation rétablie […], œuvre inouïe, pour ne pas dire miraculeuse de la politique européenne'.[11]

Le premier compte rendu sur la littérature grecque moderne en allemand était une traduction du *Cours de littérature grecque moderne* du Phanariote Jacovacy Rizo Néroulos (1778–1850), publiée en 1827.[12] Pourtant, dès 1817, Carl Jakob Iken avait soutenu à l'Université d'Iéna, sous la direction de l'historien Heinrich Luden, la première thèse de doctorat sur l'histoire culturelle des Néo-Hellènes, rédigée en latin.[13] Grâce à ses rapports avec des érudits allemands et grecs les plus éminents de son temps (Goethe, Thiersch, Korais, Pharmakidis, Kanellos), Iken publiera entre 1822 et 1827 trois étranges compilations de traductions de textes littéraires, de lettres, de commentaires et de citations: *Hellenion* (1822), *Leukothea* (1825) et *Eunomia* (1827). Ses sources avaient été surtout des récits de voyages, des articles de journaux, des brochures ainsi que diverses informations que lui fournissaient ses correspondants.[14]

Le dernier volume d'*Eunomia* contenait un recueil de chants populaires édités, traduits et commentés par Karl Theodor Kind (1799–1868). Ce juriste, conseiller juridique et universitaire, issu également du mouvement philhellénique et auteur d'une chrestomathie, de plusieurs anthologies de poésies et du premier dictionnaire grec-allemand, traducteur et rédacteur de maints articles, dans les revues *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft* et *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, ayant pour sujet la Grèce qu'il n'avait jamais visitée, était considéré comme un des meilleurs connaisseurs du grec moderne de son siècle.[15] Ces *Chants populaires*, édités plusieurs fois entre 1827 et 1861,

11 Thiersch, 'Die Neugriechen'; Thiersch, *Über die neugriechische Poesie*; Thiersch, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce*, I, 1. Les archives de Thiersch (Thierschiana), conservées dans la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, contiennent 240 lettres de ses correspondants grecs. En Grèce il était connu sous le nom hellénisé d'Ειρηναίος Θείρσιος.

12 Nerulos, *Die neugriechische Litteratur*.

13 *De statu Graeciae hodierno de que Neohellenum seu Romaïcorum hist. polit. & literraria* [De l'état de la Grèce actuelle et de l'histoire des Néo-Grecs ou Romains, de point de vue politique et littéraire]; le contenu de la thèse nous reste inconnu, mais il a probablement servi à la rédaction de l'Introduction générale de Karl Iken dans *Hellenion* (1822, 1–120); voir Diamantopoulou, *Carl Jakob Iken*.

14 *Hellenion* était principalement conçu comme traduction du *Mémoire* de Korais; *Leukothea* se présentait comme une histoire épistolaire de la littérature grecque moderne et *Eunomia* comme un recueil de textes littéraires. Voir Kovaiou, 'Μεγάλες προσδοκίες' et Diamantopoulou, *Carl Jakob Iken*.

15 Kind, *Neugriechische Volkslieder*; *Beiträge zur besseren Kenntniß*; *Neugriechische Chrestomathie; Neugriechische Anthologie*. Voir Grimm, 'Kind, Theodor'.

ont finalement compensé le projet inachevé de Werner von Haxthausen (1780–1842), longuement encouragé par Goethe et devancé par l'édition de Fauriel.[16]

La culture populaire grecque, liée d'abord à l'intérêt au *Volksgeist* herderien, puis à la mythologie comparée, qui cherchait dans les manifestations culturelles du peuple (chants, contes, légendes, proverbes, croyances) des vestiges de l'Antiquité, fut un domaine privilégié des disciplines allemandes tout au long du XIX[e] siècle.[17] Mais aucun de ces projets n'a pu se détacher de l'ombre de la science de l'Antiquité et cristalliser un champ de recherches particulier. Le recueil de poésies que publia en 1844 le mathématicien et lexicographe Daniel Sanders (1819–1897) – élève de l'éminent helléniste August Boeckh (1785–1867) et du philologue et linguiste Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) à Berlin, ami du physicien et futur professeur à l'Université d'Athènes Iraklis Mitsopoulos (1816–1892) et collaborateur de l'écrivain, archéologue et diplomate phanariote A.R. Rangabé (1809–1893), dont il traduira plus tard l'*Histoire littéraire de la Grèce moderne* – était un mélange de chants populaires ('historiques' et 'romantiques'), de proverbes, d'énigmes et de poèmes d'auteurs classiques du XIX[e] siècle (A. Christopoulos, D. Solomos etc.). L'idée principale de Sanders, qui avait déjà participé à une édition de chants klephtiques, était de démontrer l'influence slave sur la culture populaire des Grecs.[18]

Cark Iken signait ses écrits comme *Privatgelehrter*, chercheur privé. Il aurait pu enseigner le grec moderne dans une université ou une école commerciale allemande, si le grec avait été 'd'une utilité reconnue pour la politique et le commerce', comme dans la France napoléonienne, mais pour les Allemands il ne l'était pas.[19] Ainsi, quasiment jusqu'à la fin du siècle, le seul poste universitaire d'enseignement du grec moderne en Allemagne fut un lectorat créé en 1819 à Leipzig, où vivaient de nombreux commerçants grecs. Il n'a été maintenu qu'une trentaine d'années; son titulaire, Johann Adolf Erdmann Schmidt (1769–1851), auteur d'un manuel de grec moderne,

16 Haxthausen, *Neugriechische Volkslieder*; Voir Maufroy, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand*, 116–118.

17 Voir les éditions des chants populaires d'Arnold Passow (1829–1870); *Τραγούδια ρωμαίικα*; *Liebes- und Klagelinder*), ainsi que les études des hellénistes Bernhard Schmidt (1837–1913; *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*; *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*) et Curt Wachsmuth (1837–1905; *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*); cf. Mitsou, 'Dai miti letterari alle tradizioni popolari'.

18 Sanders, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*; Oppenheim et Carriere, *Neugriechische Volks- und Freiheitslieder*; Rangabé et Sanders, *Geschichte der neugriechischen Litteratur*; cf. Schröder, 'Sanders, Daniel'; Varelas, *Μετά θάρρους*, 65–66, 68.

19 Voir le rapport de Lakanal à la Constituante et le décret de fondation de l'École des langues orientales vivantes, http://www.inalco.fr/institut/presentation-politique-institut/histoire-riche (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

enseignait aussi le russe. Même à l'Université de Berlin, l'enseignement du grec moderne n'était – du moins jusqu'à la création du *Berliner Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* en 1887 – qu'un supplément du cours principal de grec ancien, comme il l'est encore aujourd'hui dans le programme scolaire des lycées classiques (*humanistische Gymnasien*) allemands.

Si l'apprentissage du grec moderne était jugé superflu pour les étudiants, ce sont des textes en grec 'moyen' de l'époque byzantine qui ont attiré l'attention de certains lettrés qui n'étaient pas nécessairement des hellénistes. Ainsi Adolf Ellissen (1815–1872), historien, philologue et bibliothécaire, qui avait suivi des études de médecine avant de devenir député à Hanovre, puis à Francfort, a commencé à éditer, dans les années 1850, des textes d'histoire et de littérature byzantine.[20] Il fut suivi de près par Wilhelm Wagner (1843–1880), décédé prématurément à Naples.[21] Cette production d'ouvrages se poursuivit jusqu'à la fin du siècle: le philologue F.W.A. Mullac (1807–1882) est l'auteur d'une grammaire du grec vulgaire, alors que le linguiste Albert Thumb (1865–1915), qui fut en outre enseignant du grec moderne à Fribourg entre 1891 et 1901, a publié trois ouvrages linguistiques.[22] Par ailleurs, ce dernier, qui avait obtenu sa *venia legendi* en linguistique comparée et en grec moderne, effectua deux voyages de recherche en Grèce (1889–1890, 1894) et publia une série d'articles sur la question de la langue dans la revue *Ο Νουμάς* [*O Noumas*] (1905–1912).

Cet intérêt pour la langue des Grecs modernes s'étend aussi à leur littérature. En 1876, Rudolf Nicolai proposa une *Histoire de la littérature néo-grecque* à partir de 1453. August Boltz (1819–1907), traducteur des poètes et écrivains A. Christopoulos, P. Soutsos, D. Paparrigopoulos, A. Valaoritis, G. Drossinis, A. Karkavitsas, K. Palamas et D. Bikélas, auteur d'études mythologiques et de manuels de langue, alimentait régulièrement la presse allemande avec des articles qui soulignaient les progrès littéraires des Grecs; il publia aussi, en 1887, une anthologie de contes littéraires à intérêt linguistique.[23] Plutôt

20 Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*; *Die Franken im Peloponnes*. Son recueil de sonnets athéniens (*Athen: Sonetten-Zyklus*, [1838]) est considéré comme le premier livre allemand imprimé en Grèce; cf. Ellissen, *Spaziergang*; Borsche, 'Ellissen, Adolf'.

21 Wagner, *Carmina graeca Medii aevi*; *Histoire de Imberios et Margarona*; *Das ABC der Liebe*; *Trois poèmes grecs du Moyen-Âge*; Sur Wilhelm Wagner en Angleterre, voir Gotsi, chapitre 5 dans le présent volume.

22 Mullac, *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprache*; Thumb, *Beiträge zur neugriechischen Dialektkunde*; *Die neugriechische Sprache*; *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*.

23 Nicolai, *Geschichte der neugriechischen Literatur*; Boltz, *Die hellenische Sprache der Gegenwart*; *Hellenische Erzählungen*; *Hellenisch*. Boltz a publié maints articles sur la production littéraire récente et les études folkloriques en Grèce dans les journaux et revues *Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Ausland*, *Das Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes*, *Didaskalia*, *Deutsche Dichtung*,

slaviste que néo-helléniste, membre de la société littéraire athénienne Parnassos et de la Société philhellénique d'Amsterdam, Boltz entretenait des relations avec des écrivains et lettrés grecs (A.R. Rangabé, G. Vizyenos, N.G. Politis). Par ailleurs, il jouissait d'une telle renommée en Grèce qu'un article lui fut consacré dans le premier dictionnaire encyclopédique grec.[24] De son côté, Julius Konstantin Balthasar von Hoesslin (1867–1927?), né à Athènes et ami proche de K. Hatzopoulos, joua, pendant une dizaine d'années, le rôle de médiateur culturel entre la Grèce et l'Allemagne, en publiant régulièrement des comptes rendus d'œuvres littéraires grecques dans le journal de Leipzig *Die Gesellschaft* et ses propres articles sur la culture allemande dans les journaux grecs *H Τέχνη* [L'Art] et *O Νουμάς*.[25]

Or, même si le grec moderne n'était pas le véritable domaine de recherche de ces érudits, ils ont toutefois le mérite d'avoir assuré une présence secondaire, mais durable, de l'élément néo-hellénique dans le monde éditorial allemand et ceci en dépit de l'attachement des néo-humanistes et de leurs institutions à l'Âge classique.

***

Ainsi, le renouvellement des études grecques en Allemagne ne fut déclenché ni par le philhellénisme ni par l'attrait des aspects traditionnels et folkloriques du monde grec contemporain mais à travers les études byzantines. En 1898, fut inaugurée, à l'Université de Munich, la première chaire de philologie médiévale et grecque moderne, le *Seminar für mittel- und neugriechische Philologie*, subventionné par l'État grec et certaines communautés grecques de la diaspora.[26] La procédure s'était avérée particulièrement dure pour son fondateur, le byzantiniste Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909), auteur de la première *Histoire de la littérature byzantine*, dont toutes les démarches auprès du Ministère bavarois d'éducation étaient restées vaines. Profondément déçu, Krumbacher avait alors tenté d'obtenir un poste universitaire à Paris avec l'aide de Dimitrios Bikélas et de Jean Psichari.[27]

Literarisch-kritische Rundschau, *Darmstadter Zeitung*, *Die Gesellschaft*; voir Varelas, chapitre 7 dans le présent volume et Varelas, *Μετά θάρρους*, 65.

24 'Βολτς'; voir Varelas, *Μετά θάρρους*, 63, 65–66.

25 Gläßel, *Giannes Kampyses*, 236–258.

26 Sur l'établissement du *Séminaire*, voir Beck, 'Das Institut für Byzantinistik'; Dölger, 'Karl Krumbacher'; Aufhauser, 'Karl Krumbacher. Erinnerungen'; https://www.propylaeum.de/fileadmin/media/themen/krumbacher/Vortrag_Tinnefeld.pdf (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

27 Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*; cf. la lettre de Krumbacher à Psichari le 19 janvier 1891, dans Enepekidis, *Η Ελλάδα, τα νησιά και η Μικρά Ασία*, 310.

Le parcours scientifique de Krumbacher est particulièrement intéressant, car il est atypique pour un helléniste allemand. Il avait commencé ses études de lettres classiques à Munich sous la direction de Wilhelm von Christ (1831–1906). Dans ses *Essais populaires*, il affirmait être parvenu aux études byzantines à travers ses lectures néo-helléniques lors de ses études à Munich et à Leipzig (1875–1879). Empruntant un itinéraire différent que celui de ses collègues, Krumbacher était passé du grec moderne au grec médiéval.[28] Il avouait également que, s'il avait réussi à se frayer un chemin dans le domaine vierge de la philologie byzantine, c'était grâce à ses amis grecs Nikolaos Politis, Aristomenis Provelengios, Georgios Sotiriadis, Georgios Iakovidis et autres. Græcophile plutôt que philhellène, il était convaincu que pour comprendre la nature de la langue et l'évolution génétique de la littérature grecque moderne, il fallait étudier le 'grec vulgaire' dans toute son histoire du XII^{e} au XVIII^{e} siècle.[29] Ses cours étaient centrés sur des textes en grec vernaculaire, allant des poésies prodromiques aux essais de Jean Psichari. Or, son enseignement et sa recherche innovante représentaient une rupture avec le modèle traditionnel de l'*Altertumswissenschaft*, qui n'acceptait les études byzantines que comme une discipline auxiliaire (*Hilfswissenschaft*). Le séminaire de Krumbacher inversait l'ordre établi par les hellénistes allemands, qui voyaient dans la langue moderne une dégradation totale du grec classique, entamée déjà à l'époque byzantine, un 'avorton barbare',[30] et qui découvraient dans la Grèce nouvelle (*neues Hellas*) un énorme chantier de fouilles archéologiques, restant indifférents à tout produit culturel qui ne dériverait pas de l'âge d'or. En revanche, dans son récit de voyage *Griechische Reise* (1886), qu'il désignait comme 'un discours *pro populo neograeco*', Krumbacher parlait très peu des antiquités grecques et mettait notamment l'accent sur des tableaux de la vie contemporaine. Le voyage effectué en Grèce et en Turquie entre octobre 1884 et mai 1885 s'est révélé crucial pour le développement de ses intérêts scientifiques et pour la suite de sa carrière. À partir de 1890, le byzantiniste est devenu membre de l'Académie bavaroise des sciences (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften). C'est au sein de

28 Krumbacher, *Populäre Aufsätze*, viii: 'Die intensive Beschäftigung mit dem Neugriechischen gab meinen späteren Studien ihre Richtung. Unbekümmert um die verschiedenen Examina, bei denen Neugriechisch weniger als nichts galt, lernte ich die Sprache und las von neugriechischen Büchern, was ich auftreiben konnte. Auf diesem Umwege gelangte ich zum byzantinischen Studiengebiet, zuerst zur *volksmassigen* Literatur des Mittelalters, von der gerade damals einige größere Werke durch die Ausgaben von Legrand, Wagner und Lampros zuganglich geworden waren'; cf. Karpozilos, 'Ο Κάρολος Κρουμπάχερ', 133–134.

29 Krumbacher, *Populäre Aufsätze*, 87; cf. Kambas et Mitsou, 'Zum Ort des Neugriechischen'.

30 Villoison, *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 7/5 (1801), 473, cité par Tolias, *La médaille et la rouille*, 142.

l'Académie qu'il publiera désormais ses travaux et c'est dans ses locaux qu'il a eu le courage de prendre la défense de la langue démotique dans un discours légendaire, prononcé en 1902[31]; en raison de son soutien aux démoticistes, il fut accusé par les puristes, en particulier par son collègue Georgios Mistriotis, d'être un agent du panslavisme, stipendié par les Russes.

L'établissement du séminaire de Krumbacher confirmait l'émancipation résolue de la byzantinologie allemande des études classiques, ce dont avait déjà témoigné l'accueil enthousiaste de sa *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* – qualifiée d'"œuvre classique', 'vraie étincelle' par Psichari, et d'"œuvre magistrale' qui débrouille 'ce chaos byzantin' par Émile Legrand[32] – et surtout sa revue, la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, dont le premier numéro avait paru en 1892 chez B.G. Teubner. Entouré par les spécialistes des études byzantines et néo-grecques, dont les noms figuraient sur la couverture, soutenu par des abonnements et des dons, Krumbacher a publié sa revue de 1892 à 1900 en trois numéros (*Hefte*), comportant au moins dix cahiers chacun qui formaient un volume annuel (*Band/Jahrgang*), puis, à partir de 1901, deux fois par an.[33] Le prix du volume était fixé à 20 Mark. Cent vingt ans plus tard, la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* maintient toujours sa structure originale: la première partie comprend des études et des éditions de textes byzantins, la deuxième inclut des comptes rendus et des débats et la troisième est composée de notices bibliographiques et de petites annonces.

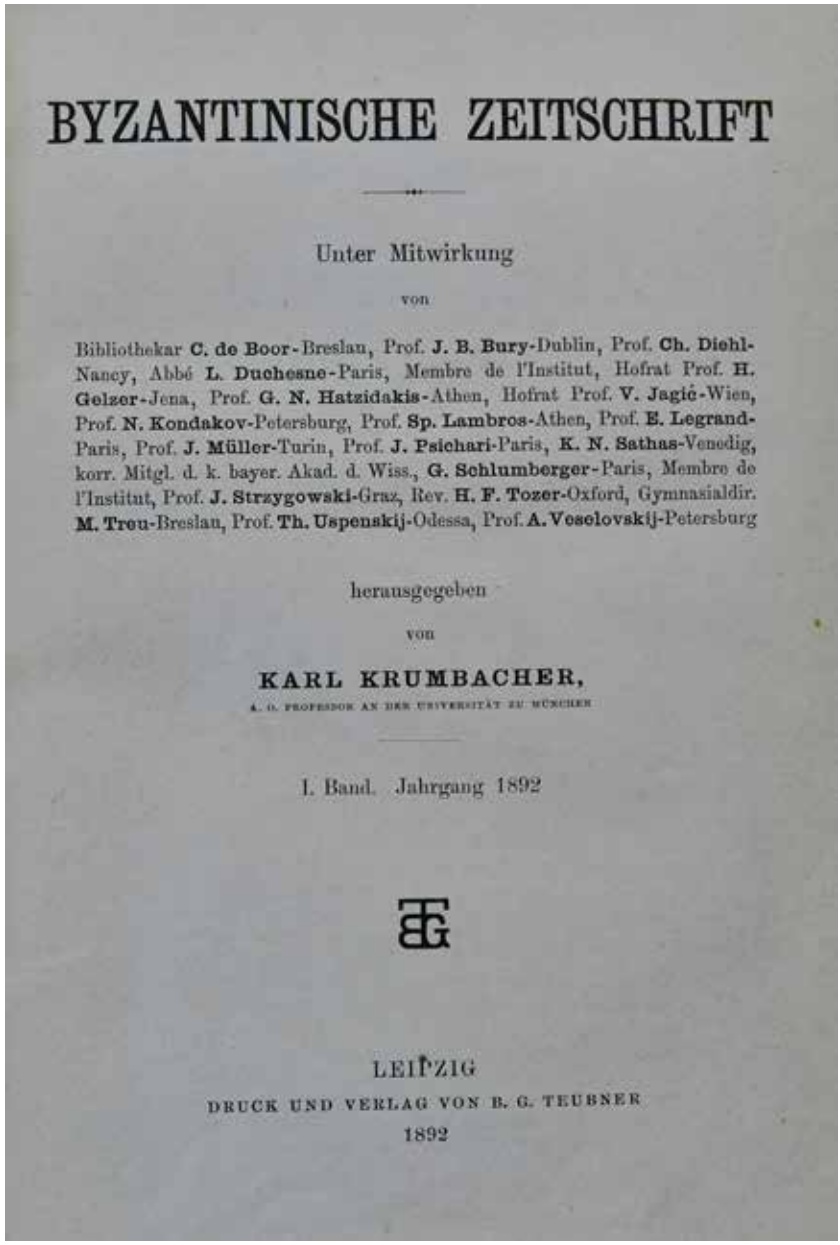
La préface de Krumbacher au premier numéro, signée en mars 1892, expose en détail l'argumentaire à l'appui de cette nouvelle publication périodique.[34] Le byzantiniste défend tout d'abord le choix de l'Europe centrale comme lieu de parution d'une revue d'études byzantines; tant le projet de Spyridon Lambros de publier à Athènes la revue *Byzantis* que celui de l'helléniste Michael Deffner de fonder l'*Archiv für mittel- und neugriechische Philologie* avaient échoué par manque de moyens et de réseaux. Cependant, la multitude de nouvelles données recueillies pendant les dernières années dans les disciplines de l'histoire et de la philologie imposaient la création d'un organe scientifique novateur. L'éditeur de *BZ* constatait que, si les sciences humaines étaient en train de se scinder en maints domaines différents, le

31 Krumbacher, *Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache*.

32 Mitsou, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών', 318, n. 21.

33 Parmi les collaborateurs figuraient les professeurs Ch. Diehl, G.N. Hatzidakis, N. Kondakov, Sp. Lambros, E. Legrand, J. Müller, J. Psichari, J. Strzygowski, Th. Uspenskij, A. Veselovskij, ainsi que des bibliothécaires, des professeurs de collège et de lycée, K.N. Sathas, G. Schlumberger *et al.* Sur la fiche d'abonnement, voir Mitsou, 'Επιστολές του Ψυχάρη στον Krumbacher', 472; sur les abonnements, Mitsou, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών', 320–321.

34 Krumbacher, 'Vorwort'.



BYZANTINISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT

Unter Mitwirkung

von

Bibliothekar **C. de Boor**-Breslau, Prof. **J. B. Bury**-Dublin, Prof. **Ch. Diehl**-Nancy, Abbé **L. Duchesne**-Paris, Membre de l'Institut, Hofrat Prof. **H. Gelzer**-Jena, Prof. **G. N. Hatzidakis**-Athen, Hofrat Prof. **V. Jagić**-Wien, Prof. **N. Kondakov**-Petersburg, Prof. **Sp. Lambros**-Athen, Prof. **E. Legrand**-Paris, Prof. **J. Müller**-Turin, Prof. **J. Psichari**-Paris, **K. N. Sathas**-Venedig, korr. Mitgl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., **G. Schlumberger**-Paris, Membre de l'Institut, Prof. **J. Strzygowski**-Graz, Rev. **H. F. Tozer**-Oxford, Gymnasialdir. **M. Treu**-Breslau, Prof. **Th. Uspenskij**-Odessa, Prof. **A. Veselovskij**-Petersburg

herausgegeben

von

KARL KRUMBACHER,

A. O. PROFESSOR AN DER UNIVERSITÄT ZU MÜNCHEN

I. Band. Jahrgang 1892

LEIPZIG

DRUCK UND VERLAG VON B. G. TEUBNER

1892

Figure 8.1. Couverture de la revue *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Reproduction avec autorisation de la Bibliothèque Gennadeion, École américaine d'études classiques d'Athènes [Front cover of the journal *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Reproduced with permission of the Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens].

champ de la culture grecque avait au contraire conservé son unité, et ce sans que les hellénistes puissent maîtriser l'ensemble de l'histoire linguistique et littéraire de la Grèce. Leur méthode avait été de réduire arbitrairement leur recherche et leur enseignement à l'époque classique et hellénistique. Toute période postérieure était cédée aux études privées (*Privatstudium*), réalisées dans des disciplines déjà reconnues. 'Personne n'est venu à l'idée', écrivait-il, 'd'étudier l'époque postclassique, byzantine et néo-grecque, à peu près du V^e^ siècle à nos jours, comme un membre autonome et indispensable de l'histoire de l'humanité'.

L'indifférence de la science occidentale pour la culture des Byzantins et de leurs descendants était due, en premier lieu, à des divergences confessionnelles et politiques. Or, l'Orient orthodoxe n'était toujours pas considéré comme une partie intégrante de l'Europe; il 'forme un monde à soi, un complexe particulier de pays et de peuples demi-instruits, demi-sauvages, situé entre l'Europe civilisée et l'Asie barbare. Cet enchevêtrement multiforme de peuples, qui constituait autrefois le rempart de l'Europe contre la barbarie asiatique et qui semble être destiné à servir de pont culturel entre l'Europe et l'Asie dans l'avenir, n'a pas attiré jusqu'à récemment l'intérêt des savants et fut très méconnu'.[35]

Cette position ambiguë de Krumbacher à l'égard des cultures du Sud-est européen est aussi un signe du changement de paradigme qui était en train de s'imposer. En effet, son projet de constituer une discipline prometteuse, historique et philologique, celle des études byzantines et néo-helléniques, était encouragé par l'essor des études balkaniques, en particulier de la philologie slave, dans le monde allemand.[36] Il s'agissait désormais de se pencher sur l'histoire linguistique, littéraire, artistique, religieuse, sociale et politique des peuples de l'Empire ottoman et de ses héritiers. À l'encontre de

35 'Man kam nicht auf den Gedanken, das ganze spätgriechische, byzantinische und neugriechische Zeitalter etwa vom fünften Jahrhundert nach Chr. bis auf den heutigen Tag als ein selbständiges, unentbehrliches Glied in der Geschichte der Menschheit zu studieren.'

'Der orthodoxe Osten bildet eine Welt für sich, die als ein eigenartiger, halb gebildeter, halb wilder Staaten- und Völkerkomplex zwischen dem civilisierten Europa und dem barbarischen Asien liegt. Dieses vielgestaltige Völkergewirr, das in der Vergangenheit die Schutzmauer Europas gegen die asiatische Barbarei bildete und für die Zukunft berufen scheint als Kulturbrücke von Europa nach Asien zu dienen, ist bis auf die neueste Zeit wenig beachtet und viel verkannt worden' (Krumbacher, 'Vorwort', 2).

36 Comme on l'a vu, plusieurs auteurs de livres sur la culture grecque moderne (D. Sanders, J.A.E. Schmidt, A. Boltz) étaient en premier lieu des slavistes; Krumbacher enseigna également le russe dans le cadre de son séminaire et s'engagea dans la fondation d'une chaire d'études slaves à l'Université de Munich; voir https://www.propylaeum.de/fileadmin/media/themen/krumbacher/Vortrag_Berger.pdf (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

la tendance générale, cette discipline nouvelle, autonome et indépendante, qui était en train de se former, n'était pas 'le résultat d'une fragmentation malsaine (*ungesunde Zersplitterung*), mais au contraire un organisme engendré à partir d'éléments autrefois dissociés et dépéris'.[37] Il était temps de se libérer des stéréotypes des antiquisants, qui ne cherchaient dans le monde byzantin et grécophone que les traces de l'Antiquité classique, en considérant les écrivains byzantins comme de simples médiateurs entre la culture antique et la philologie actuelle.

Ainsi, comme le rapport entre les études byzantines et les études classiques était évident, le chemin à parcourir n'était plus celui conduisant du *Moyen Âge* à l'Antiquité, mais celui allant du *Moyen Âge* vers le présent. Krumbacher signalait l'importance majeure des études linguistiques récentes du grec moyen et moderne, puisque le vernaculaire s'avérait un facteur essentiel de l'évolution de la langue grecque. C'est justement ce secteur concernant l'histoire de la langue, sa mouvance et ses aspects particuliers qui sera dorénavant privilégié au sein des études byzantines et de sa revue. La création d'un organe central, de la *BZ*, correspondait à la déclaration de maturité (*Mündigkeitserklärung*) des études byzantines. Dans son argumentaire Krumbacher circonscrivait clairement son champ d'intérêt et de recherche et définissait ses objectifs: la revue devrait comprendre 'l'ensemble de la vie intellectuelle grecque depuis la fin de l'antiquité jusqu'au seuil de l'époque contemporaine', suivant l'ordre des événements dans les deux sens, vers le passé et vers le présent.[38] Elle couvrirait tous les domaines des études byzantines (littérature, langue, philosophie, théologie, histoire, géographie, ethnologie, arts, histoire du droit et de la médecine) et elle influencerait sa trajectoire et sa méthode. Sa fonction serait donc en même temps constitutive et pédagogique. Elle revêtirait un caractère international, abritant des articles dans toutes les langues dominantes de l'Europe mais aussi en grec, et défendrait son caractère strictement scientifique (*einen streng wissenschaftlichen Charakter*) contre tout amateurisme et tout dilettantisme menaçant le sérieux du projet.[39]

L'actualité culturelle de la Grèce n'avait sa place que dans la partie bibliographique, plus éphémère, de la revue. C'est ici que le lecteur pouvait trouver plusieurs références à l'œuvre philologique, linguistique et critique de Jean

37 'Die Byzantinistik ist nicht das Erzeugnis einer ungesunden Zersplitterung, sondern ein aus früher zersplitterten und daher oft verkümmerten Teilchen zusammenwachsender neuer Organismus' (Krumbacher, 'Vorwort', 3).

38 'Die byzantinische Zeitschrift soll das gesamte griechische Geistesleben vom Ausgang des Altertums bis an die Schwelle der neueren Zeit umfassen' (Krumbacher, *ibidem*, 10).

39 Krumbacher, *ibidem*, 11–12.

Psichari, que Krumbacher ne semblait pas approuver d'emblée.[40] Mais la matière principale de *BZ* recouvrait des sujets littéraires et historiques variés du monde byzantin et post-byzantin, pénétrant plus rarement les temps modernes. Seules les études linguistiques et ethnologiques faisaient exception. Quant au multilinguisme déclaré, il fut de moins en moins respecté et l'allemand envahit progressivement les pages du journal consacrées aux recherches byzantines, laissant les sujets sur des périodes plus récentes aux soins des chercheurs grecs et grécophones.

Ainsi, dès le premier numéro, G.N. Hatzidakis, professeur de linguistique à l'Université d'Athènes, et l'helléniste D.C. Hesseling, qui poursuivit ses études sous la direction d'Émile Legrand et Jean Psichari à Paris, et fut le fondateur des études néo-helléniques aux Pays-Bas, publiaient régulièrement dans *BZ* leurs études de linguistique historique et comparée. La présence d'ailleurs systématique du premier dans les six premiers volumes de la revue avait provoqué le mécontentement de Psichari, qui s'est limité à une seule contribution dans ce qu'il appelait ironiquement la 'Krumbacher Zeitschrift'.[41] Aux rédacteurs d'articles sur l'évolution du vocabulaire du grec moyen et moderne ajoutons le nom d'Albert Thumb, à l'époque professeur extraordinaire de linguistique et de grec moderne à Fribourg, et, à partir de 1901, ceux d'Antonios Jannaris ou Jannarakis (1852–1909), professeur de grec postclassique et moderne à l'Université écossaise de St. Andrews, très connu pour sa grammaire historique et son recueil de chants populaires crétois, de Karl Dieterich (1869–1935), futur *Privatdozent* de philologie byzantine et néo-hellénique à l'Université de Leipzig,[42] du linguiste Paul Kretschmer (1866–1956), professeur extraordinaire de linguistique indogermanique à Marbourg, et du slaviste Max Vasmer (1886–1962), encore doctorant de l'Université de Saint-Pétersbourg.

Petros N. Papageorgiou (1858–1914) et Ioannis P. Miliopoulos publiaient dans la revue des articles sur l'histoire géographique et archéologique de certaines régions de la Grèce du Nord et de la Turquie, présentaient des

40 Sur les publications de Psichari, voir vols. 2 (1893), 170; 6 (1897), 617; 7 (1898), 458; 9 (1900), 658–663; 11 (1902), 589, 641; 12 (1903), 359, 646; 13 (1904), 311–312, 597, 700; 14 (1905), 323, 674, 676; 15 (1906), 364, 666; 16 (1907), 156–167; 17 (1908), 245, 276, 319, 582–583; 18 (1909), 632. L'exemple est indicatif; le triage de tous les auteurs et ouvrages néo-helléniques ne pourrait être fait pour l'ensemble des volumes.

41 Sur les contributions de Hatzidakis, voir vols. 1 (1892), 2 (1893), 3 (1894), 4 (1895), 5 (1896), 6 (1897); le premier article de Psichari fut publié dans le vol. 9 (1900), le deuxième dans le vol. 16 (1907).

42 Sur les contributions de Karl Dieterich, voir les vols. 10 (1901), 11 (1902) et 13 (1904); sur son apport aux études de grec moderne, cf. Mitsou, 'Griechenfreundschaft gegen Philhellenismus'.

données topographiques et décrivaient des églises et des monastères. Le premier était philologue, directeur de lycée (à Serres, puis à Mytilène) et épigraphiste spécialisé aux églises de Thessalonique[43]; le second, auteur de dictionnaires turco-grecs et d'une histoire de l'Empire ottoman, vivait à Constantinople. Depuis Saint-Pétersbourg, Athanase Papadopoulos-Kérameus (1856–1912) participait avec ses écrits philologiques, archéologiques et ethnologiques, alors que depuis Athènes N.G. Politis (1852–1921) et plus tard Spyr. P. Lambros (1851–1919) se penchaient sur l'étude approfondie de manuscrits et de monuments 'pour servir à l'étude [du monde et] de la langue néo-hellénique' récemment découverts.[44]

Parmi les auteurs étudiés figuraient souvent des lettrés qui avaient marqué l'humanisme italien après la prise de Constantinople et parmi les textes présentés, certains seraient qualifiés aujourd'hui d'*early modern*. Les érudits allemands August Heisenberg (1869–1930), élève et successeur de Krumbacher à Munich, l'helléniste et théologien Johannes Dräseke (1844–1916), l'archéologue Theodor Preger (1866–1911), le théologien Ernest von Dobschütz (1870–1934), mais également les Français Théodore Reinach (1860–1928), Daniel Serruys (1875–1950), Henri Labaste et Jean Ebersolt (1879–1933), ainsi que l'historien de l'art polonais Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941) ont fait de l'histoire culturelle et de la littérature post-byzantine (ou 'proto-néo-hellénique') un domaine de recherches particulièrement fécond. Il n'est pas toujours facile de distinguer entre matière byzantine et matière néo-hellénique ayant comme seul critère la langue. Les chants populaires et des textes littéraires de la Francocratie ou de la Vénétocratie trouvaient toujours leur place dans les analyses de la revue, leur date de naissance étant souvent difficile à préciser. L'historien Périclès Zerlentis (1852–1925), originaire de l'île de Syros, et l'historien britannique William Miller (1864–1945) contribuèrent systématiquement à l'étude de toponymes et de documents provenant de régions non assujetties par les Ottomans,[45] le théologien Vassilios Stéphanidis (1878–1958) et l'archéologue crétois Stéfanos Xanthoudidis (1864–1928) démontrèrent l'importance des sources littéraires du vernaculaire à partir du XVI^{e} siècle. Krumbacher commenta de son côté l'histoire sémantique du verbe *τραγουδώ*.[46]

43 Sur les contributions de Papageorgiou, voir vols. 3 (1894), 7 (1898), 10 (1901), 12 (1903), 14 (1905), 17 (1908).

44 Sur les contributions de Papadopoulos-Kérameus, voir vols. 8 (1899), 10 (1901), 12 (1903), 14 (1905); N.G. Politis n'a publié qu'une seule étude sur des recettes magiques du XVI^{e} et XVIII^{e} siècle (1, 1892).

45 Sur les contributions de Zerlentis, voir vol. 11 (1902), 12 (1903), 13 (1904), 14 (1905).

46 Voir vol. 11 (1902).

Si l'étude historique et philologique du vernaculaire (*Neugriechisch*, *Vulgärgriechisch*) faisait également partie des cours annuels et des publications de Krumbacher, il préférait publier dans d'autres journaux ses analyses de la littérature grecque moderne que nous retrouvons dans son recueil *Populäre Aufsätze*.[47] En somme, l'apport de Krumbacher ne consiste pas dans l'introduction d'un modèle d'interprétation ou d'une théorie de la civilisation byzantine et post-byzantine, mais plutôt dans l'autonomisation des études byzantines et néo-helléniques au sein des sciences humaines.[48] Le *Séminaire* munichois deviendra la pépinière de byzantinologues et de néo-hellénistes qui occuperont par la suite des postes universitaires en Europe centrale et dans les Balkans, ainsi que de futurs médiateurs et traducteurs de littérature grecque moderne en Allemagne.[49]

Ainsi, si le successeur de Krumbacher ne s'est intéressé qu'aux chansons d'amour (rhodische Liebeslieder, Ερωτοπαίγνια), ses deux autres doctorants, Gustav Soyter (1883–1965) et Karl Dieterich, se sont penchés principalement sur des sujets néo-helléniques. Soyter explora dans sa thèse les comédies *Babylonia* de D.K. Vyzantios et *Korakistika* de Jacovacy Rizo Néroulos, il publia des études sur la poésie populaire grecque et enseigna, de 1921 à 1945, le grec médiéval et moderne à l'Université de Würzburg, puis de Leipzig; Dieterich, qui avait en profonde aversion la tradition byzantine et l'église orthodoxe, a le profil de néo-helléniste: dans sa longue carrière de professeur et de chercheur, il s'est occupé des dialectes du grec moderne, des légendes et des croyances populaires, de la poésie grecque moderne, de l'histoire politique et littéraire de la Grèce et du philhellénisme. Il publia des dictionnaires, des anthologies poétiques, ainsi que de nombreux comptes rendus et des

47 Ses articles d'intérêt néo-hellénique portent principalement sur la question de la langue écrite et de la prononciation du grec; il publie également des comptes rendus d'ouvrages littéraires récents (Psichari, Bikélas, Rangabé et Sanders); voir Krumbacher, *Populäre Aufsätze*.

48 En France, après le poste de philologie byzantine et néo-grecque introduit en 1885 à l'École pratique des Hautes Études, une deuxième chaire d'études byzantines fut créée en 1899 à la Sorbonne; le premier professeur titulaire était l''Athénien' Charles Diehl. Il a fallu attendre jusqu'à 1912, pour qu'une charge de cours de langue et littérature grecque moderne soit instituée à la Sorbonne; une chaire magistrale lui succédera en 1930 au sein de l'Institut Néohellénique, fondée en 1919 grâce à l'initiative du gouvernement hellénique et de l'Université de Paris. Voir Mirambel, 'Le domaine grec moderne', 446, 447; Manitakis, 'Le développement institutionnel des relations culturelles franco-grecques'.

49 Ainsi, Dragutin Anastasievi ć à Belgrade, Nicolas Bănescu à Bucarest, Jenö Darkó à Debrecen, Silvio Giuseppe Mercati à Rome, Paul Maas à Berlin, Henri Grégoire à Bruxelles, Karl Dieterich à Leipzig, Gustav Soyter à Würzburg, Nicolas Bees, Konstantinos Amandos, Phédon Koukoules et Sokrate Kougeas à Athènes, Manolis Triantafyllidis, plus tard Emmanouil Kriaras et Linos Politis à Thessalonique etc.

traductions d'œuvres littéraires récentes dans les revues *Angelos*, *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, *Aus fremden Zungen*, *Die Grenzboten*, *Hellas*, *Hellas Jahrbuch*, *Das literarische Echo*, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*. Son séjour à Athènes (1898–1900) et ses amis grecs lui ont d'ailleurs permis d'agir en médiateur culturel gréco-allemand et de publier également des articles dans les périodiques grecs *O Νουμάς*, *Τα Ολύμπια* [Olympia], *Το Περιοδικόν μας* [Notre Revue] et *Η Τέχνη*.[50]

De ce même milieu surgit à Munich, en 1914, la première association gréco-allemande (*Deutsch-griechische Gesellschaft*), dont les membres animeront pendant l'entre-deux-guerres les premières revues néo-helléniques *Hellas* (Hambourg, 1921–1928) et *Hellas Jahrbuch* (Hambourg, 1929–1942/1943), sous la direction de l'historien Erich Ziebarth (1868–1944).[51] Ce dernier contribuera à l'établissement de l'enseignement du grec moderne à l'Université de Hambourg.

Par ailleurs, en Allemagne, le grec moderne est resté très longtemps rattaché aux études byzantines, confirmant d'un autre point de vue la continuité de la culture hellénique, pour former une discipline nettement distincte des lettres classiques. Contrairement à la France, l'autonomisation des études néo-helléniques en Allemagne ne s'est produite qu'après la Seconde guerre mondiale.[52] Quant à la Grèce, ce n'est pas un hasard si la première chaire établie à l'Université d'Athènes, en 1925, a reçu le même nom que le séminaire munichois ('chaire de philologie médiévale et grecque moderne') et fut occupée par un ancien étudiant de Krumbacher, Nikos A. Bees (ou Veis, 1882–1958). Un an plus tôt, un autre élève de Krumbacher, Konstantinos Amandos (1874–1960), avait été nommé professeur d'histoire byzantine dans la même université, suivi en 1931 par un troisième, Phédon Koukoules (1881–1956). Pourtant, l'establishment de la plus ancienne université grecque s'était opposé obstinément à l'introduction des études byzantines et néo-helléniques dans l'enseignement. Il a fallu attendre la mort de Mistriotis (en 1916) et le départ de Georgios Hatzidakis (en 1923) pour pouvoir procéder à l'élection de ces byzantinistes, désignés surnommés les 'chevelus' de Munich ('μεταβαίνοντες εις Μόναχον μαλλιαροί').[53] Le démoticisme était définitivement expulsé de l'enseignement et de la recherche universitaire. Ainsi, l'obstacle majeur

50 Voir Mitsou, 'Griechenfreundschaft gegen Philhellenismus'.

51 Voir Moennig, '"Bolschewiken"', 124–127.

52 Le premier poste universitaire à Bochum date de 1966; il fut occupé par Isidora Rosenthal-Kamarinea (1918–2003).

53 'Chevelus': partisans (à outrance) du grec démotique; Kioussopoulou, 'Η πρώτη έδρα Βυζαντινής ιστορίας'.

à l'instauration des études byzantines et néo-helléniques en Grèce des années 1920 n'était autre que le point de départ de cette nouvelle discipline: le grec vulgaire, d'où tout avait commencé en France et en Allemagne au XIX[e] siècle.

Quant à la *BZ* de Karl Krumbacher, propagée dans toute l'Europe et très appréciée par la communauté des érudits, elle est restée bien entendu une revue spécialisée, adressée à une élite d'hellénistes, universitaires et chercheurs, mais inaccessible au grand public. Or, cette élite représentait un réseau vital et dynamique de spécialistes des études byzantines et néo-grecques, comme le prouvent, entre autres, le lieu de séjour des rédacteurs, noté à la fin de chaque article, et le catalogue des correspondants de Karl Krumbacher.[54] Les collaborateurs de la revue menaient leurs recherches dans des bibliothèques, des fonds de monastères, des églises et autres monuments de différentes métropoles européennes, allant de Saint-Pétersbourg à Paris et de Leyde à Héraklion. Ainsi, dans le dernier tiers du siècle, l'émancipation progressive des études de grec médiéval et moderne fut accompagnée par une croissance remarquable de la production et circulation des savoirs sur le monde grec à travers des échanges intellectuels et une dense activité éditoriale. La revue de Krumbacher a fortement contribué au rassemblement de nouveaux matériaux et à la diffusion de nouvelles connaissances. Titulaires de postes universitaires, bibliothécaires ou chercheurs indépendants, parfois associés à des établissements scientifiques (École française d'Athènes), des centres de recherche ou des associations (Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques, Société philhellénique d'Amsterdam), les auteurs des articles de la *BZ* ont alimenté, au tournant du XIX[e] siècle, un courant inédit de 'philhellénisme scientifique'.

Cette ouverture au monde grec moderne et contemporain ne devait pas durer longtemps. Après la mort de Krumbacher en 1909, la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* s'est concentrée davantage sur sa matière principale: la culture byzantine. Par la suite, la Grande guerre a freiné toute coopération intellectuelle des hellénistes, byzantinistes et néo-hellénistes européens. Ainsi, dépouillé de son sens de mouvement solidaire, le philhellénisme allemand est redevenu, dans l'Entre-deux-guerres, un synonyme du culte de l'antiquité.

54 Voir https://zeptools.bsb-muenchen.de/bereitstellung/pdf/web/viewer.html?-file=..%2F..%2F42_Nachlassverzeichnis_Krumbacheriana.pdf (consulté le 20 juin 2020). Sur la correspondance de Krumbacher avec des lettrés grecs et des néo-hellénistes (D. Bikélas, E. Legrand, N.G. Politis, J. Psichari, M. Triantaphyllidis *et al.*), voir Enepekidis, *Η Ελλάδα*; Triantaphyllidis, *Αλληλογραφία*; Mitsou, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών'.

Bibliographie

Sources primaires

Boltz, August (trad.), *Lieder des hellenischen Mirza-Schaffy Athanasios Christopulos* (Leipzig: Friedrich, 1880).

—, *Die hellenische Sprache der Gegenwart. Studien zur Kenntniss derselben* (Darmstadt: Brill, 1882).

—, *Die hellenischen Taufnamen der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Heitz [1883]).

— (trad.), Georgios Drosinis, *Land und Leute in Nord-Euböa. Ländliche Briefe* (Leipzig: Friedrich, 1884).

—, *Hellenische Erzählungen* (Halle: Hendel 1887).

—, *Hellenisch: die allgemeine Gelehrtensprache der Zukunft* (Leipzig: Friedrich, [1888]).

Byzantinische Zeitschrift (1892–1909).

Coray, *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (Paris: F. Didot, 1803).

Dieterich, Karl, *Geschichte der byzantinischen und neugriechischen Literatur* (Leipzig: C.F. Amelangs, 1902).

Ellissen, Adolf, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, 5 vols., Byzantinische Paralipomena: Timarion, Mazaris, Plethon (Leipzig: Wigand, 1855–1862).

—, *Die Franken im Peloponnes: nach der Chronikenpoesie des Mittelalters und im Gewande der neugriechischen Romantik* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1856).

—, *Spaziergang durch das alte Athen. Sonette und Bilder aus dem 19. Jahrhundert*, dir. Alexander Sideras et Paraskevi Sidera-Lytra (Athènes: Griechenland Zeitung, 2010)

Fallmerayer, J. Phil., *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters. Ein historischer Versuch*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart – Tübingen: Cotta, 1830–1836).

Gordon, Thomas, *History of the Greek Revolution*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1832).

Haxthausen, W. von, *Neugriechische Volkslieder (1817)*, dir. K.S. Kemminghausen et Gustav Soyter (Münster: Aschendorff, 1935).

Iken, Carl, *Hellenion. Ueber Cultur, Geschichte und Literatur der Neugriechen* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1822).

— (éd.), *Leukothea. Eine Sammlung von Briefen eines geborenen Griechen über Staatswesen, Literatur und Dichtkunst des neueren Griechenlands,* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Hartmann 1825).

—, *Eunomia. Darstellungen und Fragmente neugriechischer Poesie und Prosa*, 2 vols. (Grimma: Göschen Beyer, 1827).

Kind, Theodor, *Neugriechische Volkslieder im Originale und mit deutscher Übersetzung, nebst Sach- und Worterklärungen* (*Eunomia*, Grimma: Carl Friedrich Göschen Bayer, 1827), III.

—, *Beiträge zur besseren Kenntniß des neuen Griechenlandes in historischer, geographischer und literarischer Beziehung* (Neustadt a. d. D.: Wagner, 1831).
—, *Neugriechische Chrestomathie* (Leipzig: Baumgärtners Buchhandlung, 1835).
— (éd.), *Πανόραμα της Ελλάδος ή Συλλογή ποικίλων ποιηματίων υπό Αλεξάνδρου Σούτσου* (Leipzig: Weber, 1835).
—, *Neugriechische Anthologie* (Leipzig: Lev, 1844).
Krumbacher, Karl, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)* (Munich: Beck, 1891; 1897).
—, 'Vorwort', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 1 (1892), 1–12.
—, *Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache* (München: Franz in Komm., 1903); 'Le problème de la langue littéraire néo-grecque', *Revue des études grecques* (1903); 'Το πρόβλημα της νεωτέρας γραφομένης Ελληνικής', *Panathinaia* 25 (octobre 1901-mars 1902), 131–138 & 166–173.
—, *Populäre Aufsätze* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1909).
Maurer, G. L. von, *Das griechische Volk in öffentlicher, kirchlicher und privatrechtlicher Beziehung, vor und nach dem Freiheitskampfe bis zum 31. Juli 1831,* 3 vols. (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1835).
Mullac, F.W.A., *Grammatik der griechischen Vulgarsprache in historischer Entwicklung* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1856).
Néroulos, Jacovacy Rizo, *Cours de littérature grecque moderne donné à Genève* (Genève: A. Cherbuliez, 1827).
Nerulos [Néroulos], Jacovaky Rizo, *Die neugriechische Litteratur. In Vorlesungen gehalten zu Genf 1826*, trad. Christian Müller (Mainz: Florian Kupferberg, 1827).
Nicolai, Rudolf, *Geschichte der neugriechischen Literatur* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1876).
Oppenheim, Heinrich Bernhard et Moritz Carriere, *Neugriechische Volks- und Freiheitslieder* (Grünberg et Leipzig: Levysohn, 1842).
Passow, Arnold, *Τραγούδια ρωμαίικα: Popularia carmina graeciae recentioris* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1860).
—, *Liebes-und Klagelieder des Neugriechischen Volkes* (Magdeburg: Creutz, 1861).
Rangabé, A. R., *Précis d'une histoire de la littérature néo-hellénique* (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1877).
Rangabé, A. R. et Daniel Sanders, *Geschichte der neugriechischen Litteratur von ihren Anfängen bis auf neueste Zeit* (Leipzig: W. Friedrich, 1884).
Sanders, Daniel, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen: dargestellt und erklärt aus Liedern, Sprichwörtern, Kunstgedichten* (Mannheim: Bassermann, 1844).
Schmidt, Bernhard, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen und das hellenische Alterthum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1871).
—, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1877).
Thiersch, Friedrich, 'Die Neugriechen', *Allgemeine Zeitschrift von Deutschen für Deutsche* 1 (1813), 550–577.

—, *Über die neugriechische Poesie, besonders über ihr rhythmisches und dichterisches Verhältnis zur altgriechischen* (Munich: Cotta, 1828).
—, *De l'état actuel de la Grèce et des moyens d'arriver à sa restauration*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1833).
—, *De la Régence en Grèce*, dir. S. Flogaitis et H. Scholler, (Athènes/Komotini: Sakkoulas, 1988).
Thumb, Albert, *Beiträge zur neugriechischen Dialektkunde* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1892).
—, *Die neugriechische Sprache: eine Skizze* (Freibourg i. B.: Mohr, 1892).
—, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache: Grammatik, Texte, Glossar* (Straßburg: Trübner, 1895).
Wachsmuth, Curt, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen. Mit einem Anhang über Sitten und Aberglauben der Neugriechen bei Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Bonn: Cohen, 1864).
Wagner, Wilhelm, *Carmina graeca Medii aevi* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1874).
—, *Histoire de Imberios et Margarona* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1874).
—, *Das ABC der Liebe, eine Sammlung rhodischer Liebeslieder* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879).
—, *Trois poèmes grecs du Moyen-Âge* (Berlin: Calvary, 1881).
Zinkeisen, Johann Wilhelm, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Anfange geschichtlicher Kunde bis auf unsere Tage.* 1. *Das Alterthum und die mittleren Zeiten bis zu dem Heerzuge König Rogers von Sicilien nach Griechenland* (Leipzig: Barth 1832); 3 et 4. *Geschichte der griechischen Revolution, nach dem Englischen des Thomas Gordon bearbeitet und von der Ankunft des Präsidenten I. A. Kapodistrias bis zur Thronbesteigung des Königs Otto im Jahre 1835 fortgesetzt,* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Barth, 1840).

Sources secondaires

Andurand, Anthony, *Le mythe grec allemand. Histoire d'une affinité élective* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014).
Aufhauser, J.B., 'Karl Krumbacher. Erinnerungen', in *Χάλικες*, *Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongreß,* dir. Hans-Georg Beck (Munich 1958), 161–187.
Beck, Hans-Georg, 'Das Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität München', in *Χάλικες*, *Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongreß,* dir. Hans-Georg Beck (Munich 1958), 191–203.
'Βολτς' [Boltz], in *Λεξικόν Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν* [Dictionnaire Encyclopédique] (Athènes: Bart-Hirst, 1892–1893), 3, 9–10.
Borsche, Annemarie, 'Ellissen, Adolf', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 4 (1959) 458 [https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118688790.html#ndbcontent] (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

Butler, Eliza M., *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany: A Study of the Influence Exercised by Greek Art and Poetry over the Great German Writers of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935).

Diamantopoulou, Lilia, *Carl Jakob Iken und seine Vorreiterrolle für die Neogräzistik: Mit einer Edition von Dokumenten und Briefen* (Berlin: DeGruyter Oldenbourg, 2020).

Dölger, Franz, 'Karl Krumbacher', in *Χάλικες, Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongreß,* dir. Hans-Georg Beck (Munich 1958), 121–135.

Eideneier, Hans, 'Αναζητώντας την ελληνική δημοτική ποίηση' [À la recherche de la poésie populaire grecque], in *Ένας νέος κόσμος γεννιέται. Η εικόνα του ελληνικού πολιτισμού στη γερμανική επιστήμη κατά τον 19ο αι.* [Un nouveau monde naît. L'image de la culture grecque dans les sciences allemandes du XIX^{e} siècle], dir. Evangelos Chryssos (Athènes: Akritas, 1996), 223–246.

Enepekidis, Polychronis, *Η Ελλάδα, τα νησιά και η Μικρά Ασία του Καρόλου Κρουμπάχερ* [La Grèce, les îles et l'Asie mineure de Karl Krumbacher] (Athènes: Okeanida, 1994).

Espagne, Michel, *Le paradigme de l'étranger. Les chaires de littérature étrangère au XIX^{e} siècle* (Paris: éd. du Cerf, 1993).

—, 'Le philhellénisme entre philologie et politique. Un transfert franco-allemand', in *Philhellénismes et transferts culturels dans l'Europe du XIX^{e} siècle*, dir. M. Espagne et G. Pécout, *Revue germanique internationale* 1–2 (2005), 61–75 [https://rgi.revues.org/74] (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

Espagne, Michel et Michael Werner (dir.), *Philologiques I. Contribution à l'histoire des disciplines littéraires en France et en Allemagne au XIX^{e} siècle* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'homme, 1990).

Friedrich Thiersch und die Entstehung des griechischen Staates aus der Sicht des 20. Jahrhunderts: Thiersch-Symposium im Goethe-Institut Athen vom 15–17 Oktober 1990 (Athènes: Goethe Institut, 1991).

Gläßel, Wolfgang, *Giannes Kampyses und Konstantinos Chatzopulos. Neugriechische Literaten in Deutschland zur Zeit der Jahrhundertwende* (Neuried: Ars Una, 2004).

Grimm, Gerhard, 'Kind, Theodor', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 11 (1977), 613 [https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd116172096.html#ndbcontent] (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

Kambas, Chryssoula et Marilisa Mitsou, 'Zum Ort des Neugriechischen: Sprache, Literatursprache, Philologie-Transfer', in *Das Potential europäischer Philologien. Geschichte, Leistung, Funktion*, dir. Christoph König (Göttingen, Wallstein, 2009), 61–63.

Karl Krumbacher und die Begründung der Byzantinistik als wissenschaftliche Disziplin. Vortrage zum Gedenken des 100. Todestages von Karl Krumbacher, [https://www.propylaeum.de/themen/karl-krumbacher-1856-1909/] (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

Karpozilos, Apostolos, 'Ο Κάρολος Κρουμπάχερ και ο ελληνικός πολιτισμός' [Karl Krumbacher et la culture grecque], in *Ένας νέος κόσμος γεννιέται. Η εικόνα του ελληνικού πολιτισμού στη γερμανική επιστήμη κατά τον 19ο αι.* [Un nouveau monde naît. L'image de la culture grecque dans les sciences allemandes du XIX^e^ siècle], dir. Evangelos Chryssos (Athènes: Akritas, 1996), 129–142.

Kazazis, I. N. (dir.), *Οι ελληνικές σπουδές στην Ευρώπη. Ιστορική ανασκόπηση από την Αναγέννηση ως το τέλος του 20ού αιώνα* [Les études grecques en Europe depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à la fin du XX^e^ siècle] (Thessalonique: Centre de la langue grecque, 2007).

Kioussopoulou, Tonia, 'Η πρώτη έδρα Βυζαντινής ιστορίας στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών' [La première chaire d'Histoire byzantine à l'Université d'Athènes], *Mnimon* 15 (1993), 257–276.

Korais, Adamantios, *Αλληλογραφία* [Correspondance], 5 vols. (Athènes: Hestia, 1964–1983), 3 (*1810–1816*), 1979.

Koubourlis, Giannis, *Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές των Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου και Κ. Παπαρρηγόπουλου. Η συμβολή Ελλήνων και ξένων λογίων στη διαμόρφωση του τρίσημου σχήματος του ελληνικού ιστορισμού (1782–1846)* [La dette historiographique de Sp. Zambelios et de K. Paparrigopoulos. La contribution des érudits grecs et étrangers à la formation du schéma triadique de l'historicisme grec (1782–1846)] (Athènes: NHRF, 2012).

Kovaiou, Eleni, 'Μεγάλες προσδοκίες. Ο Carl Jakob Ludwig Iken, οι Νεοέλληνες και η γραμματεία τους' [Grandes espérances. Carl Jakob Ludwig Iken, les Grecs modernes et leur littérature], in *'…Ως αθύρματα παίδας'. Eine Festschrift für Hans Eideneier*, dir. Ulrich Moennig (Berlin: Edition Romiosini, 2016), 259–282.

Loewe, Hans, *Friedrich Thiersch. Ein Humanistenleben im Rahmen der Geistesgeschichte seiner Zeit*, dir. E. Konstantinou, K. Maras et H. Scholler (Frankfurt a. M: Peter Lang, 2010).

Manitakis, Nicolas, 'Le développement institutionnel des relations culturelles franco-grecques durant l'entre-deux-guerres', in *Le double voyage: Paris-Athènes, 1919–1939*, dir. LucileArnoux-Farnoux – Polina Kosmadaki (Athènes: EFA, 2020), 17–31.

Maufroy, Sandrine, *Le philhellénisme franco-allemand* (Paris: Belin, 2011).

Mirambel, André, 'Le domaine grec moderne et les études néohelléniques en France depuis un siècle', *Revue des études grecques*, 80: 379–383 (janvier-décembre 1967), 445–452.

Mitsou, Marilisa, 'Griechenfreundschaft gegen Philhellenismus? Karl Dieterichs Lyrik-Anthologie als erste Kanonbildung', in Chryssoula Kambas et Marilisa Mitsou (dir.), *Hellas verstehen. Deutschgriechischer Kulturtransfer im 20. Jahrhundert*, (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010), 243–267.

—, 'Επιστολές του Ψυχάρη στον Krumbacher' [Lettres de Psychari à Karl Krumbacher], in *Ο Ψυχάρης και η εποχή του. Ζητήματα γλώσσας, λογοτεχνίας και πολιτισμού* [Psichari et son temps. Questions de langue, littérature et culture], dir. Georgia Farinou-Malamatari (Thessalonique: Université de Thessalonique, INS, 2005), 459–474.

—, 'Δίκτυα (νεο)ελληνιστών και πολιτισμικές μεταφορές στα τέλη του 19ου αι.' [Réseaux de (néo)hellénistes et transferts culturels vers la fin du XIX^{e} siècle (Karl Krumbacher, Émile Legrand, N. G. Politis)], in *'... Ως αθύρματα παίδας'. Eine Festschrift für Hans Eideneier*, dir. Ulrich Moennig (Berlin: Edition Romiosini, 2016), 313–325.

—, 'Dai miti letterari alle tradizioni popolari. La mitologia neoellenica di N. G. Politis', in *Da Omero a Elytis. La metafora del mito dall'epos antico alle letterature moderne*, dir. Matteo Miano, Sophie Zambalou et Anna Zimbone (Caltanissetta: Edizioni Lussografica, 2019), 255–264.

Moennig, Ulrich, "Bolschewiken" – die Deutsche Levante-Linie und die Hamburger Definition des Orients', in *Osmanen in Hamburg – eine Beziehungsgeschichte zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges*, dir. Yavuz Köse (Hambourg: Hambourg University Press, 2016), 11-134.

Psichari, Jean, 'Les études de grec moderne en France au XIX^{e} siècle. Leçon d'ouverture du cours de Grec moderne à l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes le samedi, 20 février 1904', *Revue internationale de l'enseignement*, 47 (janvier–juin 1904), 220–239 [https://education.persee.fr/doc/revin_1775-6014_1904_num_47_1_4941] (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

— (dir.), *Études de philologie néogrecque* (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1892).

Schröder, Edward, 'Sanders, Daniel' in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 53 (1907) 705–708 [https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119242044.html#adbcontent] (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

'Thumb, Albert Joseph', in *Hessische Biografie* [https://www.lagis-hessen.de/pnd/117360120] (consulté le 20 juin 2020).

Tolias, Georges, *La médaille et la rouille* (Athènes: Hatier, 1997).

—, '*Græcophile* et *mishellène*: Jean Baptiste Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison (1750–1805), le premier néohelléniste', in *Les Mishellénismes*, dir. Gilles Grivaud (Athènes: EFA, 2001), 57–67.

Tonnet, Henri, 'Grec moderne', in *Deux siècles d'histoire de l'École des langues orientales*, dir. Pierre Labrousse (Paris: Éditions Hervas, 1995), 149–155.

Triantaphyllidis, Manolis, *Αλληλογραφία* [Correspondance], éd. Pan. Moullas (Thessalonique: Idryma Manoli Triantaphyllidi, 2001).

Varelas, Lambros, *Μετά θάρρους ανησυχίαν εμπνέοντος: η κριτική πρόσληψη του Γ.Μ. Βιζυηνού (1873–1896)* [Osant inspirer l'inquiétude: la réception critique de G.M. Bizéynos (1873–1896)] (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2014).

About the author

Marilisa Mitsou is Directrice d'études on modern Greece at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), Paris (CRH-GEHM). She was for twenty years Professor of Modern Greek Studies at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. Her research mainly deals with the cultural history of Greece (eighteenth through twenty-first centuries), cultural transference between Greece, Germany and France, history and memory, intellectual and book history, and Philhellenism. She has directed the monographic series 'Münchener Schriften zur Neogräzistik' (2004–2019), and co-directs the series 'Griechenland in Europa. Kultur – Geschichte – Literatur' (2014–) and the academic journal *Kondyloforos* (2002–). Recent publications: *Hellas verstehen. Deutsch-griechischer Kulturtransfer im 20. Jahrhundert* (Köln/Vienna: Böhlau, 2010; ed. with Chryssoula Kambas); *Die Okkupation Griechenlands im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Griechische und deutsche Erinnerungskultur* (Köln/Vienna: Böhlau, 2015; ed. with Chryssoula Kambas); *La Biographie revisitée. Études de cas et questions méthodologiques* (ed. with Maria Christina Chatziioannou), *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques* 21 (2019) (https://journals.openedition.org/acrh/9680). For other publications, visit https://ehess.academia.edu/MarilisaMitsou. Email: marie-elisabeth.mitsou@ehess.fr.

9. La Grèce et l'Europe à travers l'insurrection crétoise de 1895–1897, reflétées dans la presse de l'époque

Alceste Sofou

Après le Congrès de Berlin (1878), l'implication des grandes puissances dans le Sud-Est européen et les vicissitudes de leur politique extérieure conduisent à l'intensification de l'irrédentisme balkanique. Dans ce contexte, une nouvelle insurrection contre la domination ottomane eut lieu en Crète occupée. La décision du gouvernement grec d'y envoyer l'armée déclencha la guerre gréco-turque (1897), à l'issue de laquelle la Grèce se place sous le contrôle économique des Grandes Puissances. Avec l'insurrection crétoise (1895–1897) le philhellénisme trouve sa nouvelle déclinaison. Toutefois, pourrait-on parler de philhellénisme ou de crétophilie? Pour répondre à cette question nous tenterons d'esquisser l'image que l'Europe se faisait de la Grèce dans le cadre de la Question d'Orient à l'aide des articles de la presse française.

Mots-clés: Grèce, Crète, philhellénisme, crétophilie, question d'Orient, presse française

Après le Congrès de Berlin (1878), la tension dans les Balkans s'intensifie. L'implication des grandes puissances dans le Sud-Est européen ainsi que les vicissitudes de leur politique extérieure conduisent à l'intensification du nationalisme balkanique. Nous utilisons le terme nationalisme dans le sens défini par Ernest Gellner[1] et adopté par Eric Hobsbawm: 'Le nationalisme est essentiellement un principe qui exige que l'unité politique et l'unité nationale

1 Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1.

Gotsi, G. and D. Provata (eds.), *Languages, Identities and Cultural Transfers: Modern Greeks in the European Press (1850–1900)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021
DOI 10.5117/9789462988071_CH09

se recouvrent'.[2] De ce fait, la politique étrangère des pays balkaniques sera désormais dictée par l'irrédentisme.

Dans ce contexte, une nouvelle insurrection contre la domination ottomane eut lieu en 1895 dans la Crète occupée. Le gouvernement grec, sous la pression de l'opinion publique y avait envoyé l'armée pour soutenir les insurgés, une décision qui suscita la forte réaction ottomane et déclencha la guerre gréco-turque (1897). L'affrontement dura trente jours et la défaite grecque fut inéluctable. Il est à noter que cette guerre fut le premier engagement militaire de la Grèce – 67 ans après son indépendance – durant lequel son potentiel militaire fut testé. L'issue de cette guerre qualifiée de 'malencontreuse' et 'funeste' fut humiliante pour la Grèce qui fut par la suite placée sous le contrôle économique des grandes puissances.

La lutte des Crétois pour la souveraineté nationale éveille les consciences européennes et suscite un courant de solidarité internationale. Avec l'insurrection crétoise le 'philhellénisme' – moins romantique, plus radical – trouve sa nouvelle déclinaison. Toutefois, pourrait-on vraiment parler de philhellénisme? Tous ces gestes de solidarité n'évoquent-ils pas un mouvement focalisé uniquement sur la Crète? La politique des puissances européennes était-elle de concert avec l'opinion publique? Pour répondre à ces questions nous tenterons d'établir une lecture de l'image que l'Europe se faisait de la Grèce dans le cadre de la question d'Orient à l'aide des articles de la presse française de l'époque.

La question crétoise de la période que nous examinons est inscrite dans 'l'arythmie' suscitée dans les Balkans par le traité de San Stefano (3 mars 1877) et le congrès de Berlin (13 juillet 1878). Le traité de San Stefano mit fin à la guerre russo-turque de 1877 qui voit l'Empire ottoman affronter l'Empire russe, la Roumanie, la Serbie et le Monténégro. Cet accord voit la Roumanie, le Monténégro et la Serbie obtenir leur indépendance, ainsi que la création de la principauté de la Grande Bulgarie. L'Empire ottoman est considérablement affaibli sur le plan de la politique internationale et diminué sur le plan territorial. Cependant, les autres grandes puissances européennes ne peuvent accepter cette emprise de la Russie sur les Balkans et un tel affaiblissement de l'Empire ottoman. C'est pourquoi, l'Allemagne, l'Empire austro-hongrois, la France, l'Italie et la Grande Bretagne convoquent le congrès de Berlin afin de revoir les termes du traité et de statuer sur les Balkans. Leur premier objectif était de diminuer l'influence de la Russie en donnant du poids à l'Empire ottoman. Les grandes puissances scellèrent le sort des Balkans pour les trente-cinq ans à venir. En fait, la carte des

2 Hobsbawm, *Nations et nationalisme depuis 1780*, 26.

Balkans est redessinée sans que la notion de nation soit prise en compte: 'Le *Fremdenblatt* dit que le traité de Berlin diffère du traité de San Stefano en ce que le premier est le triomphe de la justice, de l'humanité, du droit européen par l'application de l'égalité politique et religieuse, tandis que l'autre était le triomphe égoïste du panslavisme et de la confession grecque personnifiés dans le tsar', pouvait-on lire dans *Le Temps*.[3] *Die Presse*, un autre quotidien autrichien interprète le traité de façon plus pragmatique: 'L'Orient appartiendra désormais à celui qui saura le mieux s'y implanter'.[4]

L'Europe et la question d'Orient de 1895 jusqu'au début de 1897

La fin du dix-neuvième siècle se caractérise par la vive effervescence de la politique étrangère des grandes puissances. Après la fin de la guerre russo-turque le philhellénisme traditionnel a été ravivé en Grande Bretagne. Lord Gladstone et d'autres membres du parti libéral ainsi qu'une grande partie de la presse plaidaient pour la concession à la Grèce de la Thessalie, de l'Épire et des îles de la mer Égée. Ce concert de voix résonna parmi les membres du gouvernement britannique qui pensaient que la Grèce devrait constituer une digue contre le panslavisme et contre l'irrédentisme bulgare.

La politique de la Grande Bretagne s'articule autour de deux personnalités de l'époque: Joseph Chamberlain et lord Salisbury. Le premier était plutôt favorable à une éventuelle collaboration avec la Russie qui aurait pour but le partage des richesses de l'Empire ottoman; cependant, il voulait éviter l'effondrement rapide du 'grand malade'. Le second voulait orienter la politique de son pays contre le sultan mais il ne pensait pas que l'Angleterre devrait agir seule sans le consentement des autres puissances.

La politique de la Russie de Nicolas II était guidée par la rancœur envers le congrès de Berlin à la suite duquel elle avait perdu presque tous ses avantages dans les Balkans, une politique qui variait toutefois selon les intérêts du moment.

La France de la Troisième République était alliée à la Russie, sans pour autant valider les actes de la Russie qui auraient pu susciter une guerre d'ampleur. La politique étrangère de la France était plutôt défensive. Elle défendait l'intégralité de l'Empire ottoman, préservait ses positions acquises par le traité de Berlin face à ses rivaux dont le plus redoutable était l'Allemagne. Quoiqu'il en soit les positions des deux alliés, France et

3 *Le Temps*, 15 juillet 1878, no 6294, 1.
4 *Ibidem*, 14 juillet 1878, no 6293, 1.

Russie, convergeaient en trois points: le maintien de l'intégrité de l'Empire ottoman, la réprobation de toute action autonome de chaque puissance et l'objection à un condominium international.

Le traité de Berlin avait placé l'Allemagne dans la cour des grandes puissances et l'empereur Guillaume II avait adopté une politique plus agressive ayant comme objectif l'expansion économique en Europe et à l'international, la *Weltpolitik*. 'Avec ce terme qui fixe au politique le monde comme perspective et espace d'activité on assiste au glissement d'une réalité économique à un programme politique c'est-à-dire à la politisation de l'expansion économique'.[5] Dans cet esprit, l'Allemagne essayait de restaurer son influence sur Constantinople parce qu'elle pensait que la chute de l'Empire était imminente et elle s'apprêtait à négocier un éventuel partage de ses territoires.

En fait, chaque puissance s'évertuait à neutraliser les desseins de l'autre à propos de l'Empire ottoman. En somme, l'Europe pendant la période qui nous intéresse préfère favoriser la répression des mouvements nationaux au nom de l'équilibre européen et de 'la paix'.

En Grèce régnait le pessimisme. En effet, la crise économique et la faillite en 1893 accompagnées d'une crise agricole attisaient les frictions sociales. La situation en Crète et en Macédoine pesait lourdement sur le climat intellectuel et moral suscitant la formation des associations nationalistes, comme la Société nationale [Εθνική Εταιρεία].

La Grèce, pendant la dernière décennie du dix-neuvième siècle, quarante ans après la guerre de Crimée, est confrontée encore une fois aux intérêts internationaux et à la rivalité des grandes puissances et c'est au cœur de cette corrélation que surgit la question crétoise. Si la Grèce avait appliqué une politique étrangère plus hardie et plus flexible, focalisée sur l'idée d'union elle aurait été en mesure d'exploiter les failles dans la position des grandes puissances pour le maintien du *statu quo* dans la région. En effet, les différences et les antagonismes des grandes puissances constituaient un domaine dans lequel la Grèce pouvait agir avec prudence et obtenir des avantages significatifs. Mais ce ne fut pas le cas.

La révolte crétoise

La condition des chrétiens en Crète est spécifique: ils réclamaient depuis plus d'un siècle une administration équitable, ce qui avait suscité au cours

5 Miard-Delacroix, 'L'Allemagne impériale', 27.

de l'histoire de l'île plusieurs révoltes armées, dont la plus connue était la grande insurrection crétoise de 1866 qui avait alors mobilisé l'opinion européenne.[6]

La cause principale de la révolution de 1895–1897 devrait être cherchée dans l'attitude de l'Empire ottoman à l'égard des Crétois chrétiens. Selon Georges Streit[7] 'l'Empire ottoman éluda toujours les engagements qu'il avait pris, en attribuant l'état désespéré de la Crète, soit au mauvais vouloir de la population chrétienne, soit aux intrigues des puissances et du gouvernement hellénique'.[8] Même si ce que le sultan prétendait était vrai, on ne peut pas ignorer que depuis la grande insurrection de 1866–1868, les Ottomans avaient essayé de torpiller tous les programmes transactionnels et les réformes proposés par les Puissances et signés par le sultan. Rappelons-nous que le deuxième paragraphe de l'article 23 du traité de Berlin obligeait le sultan à appliquer la nouvelle Constitution du 20 janvier 1868, appelée le Règlement Organique,[9] qui 'établissait un compromis entre le souverain et les sujets'.[10] Pour que cet article puisse être mis en vigueur, le pacte de Halepa avait été signé le 12 octobre 1878. Cependant celui-ci ne fut jamais scrupuleusement appliqué; tout au contraire, Abdul Hamid l'abolit en promulguant un firman le 26 octobre 1889. Cependant, comme le souligne Edouard Driault, ce firman-là 'compromettait les avantages précédemment accordés aux Crétois, déchirait le pacte de Halepa et mentait aux promesses antérieurement faites'.[11]

Comme le dit le comte Goluchowski à l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Vienne, 'le blâme d'avoir amené en Crète une situation désespérée ne saurait être rejeté que sur les Turcs eux-mêmes'.[12] À partir de 1889, la situation politique et économique s'aggrave et l'anarchie persiste. En juin 1894 la nomination d'un vali chrétien, sous la pression des puissances, envenime la situation. Les provocations des musulmans suscitent la riposte des chrétiens. Les Crétois jugent qu'ils devraient profiter des complications de la question d'Orient à la suite des massacres perpétrés en Arménie (1894–1896).

L'insurrection se déclenche le 15 septembre 1895 lorsque le comité révolutionnaire revendique l'autonomie mais non l'union avec la Grèce.

6 La bibliographie de la révolte crétoise de 1866 est très riche, dont nous citerons à titre indicatif: Tulard, *Histoire de la Crète*; Driault et Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de 1821 à nos jours*; Michalopoulos, *La Révolution grecque de 1862 et l'insurrection crétoise de 1866*.

7 Professeur de droit international à l'Université d'Athènes et conseiller du roi Georges I[er].

8 Streit, 'La question crétoise', 455.

9 *Ibidem*, 71–74.

10 Driault, *La Question d'Orient*, 259.

11 *Ibidem*, 260.

12 *Blue Book*, 8, 1896, 86. Dépêche de sir E. Monson datée du 27 mai 1896.

La prudence des Crétois insurgés pourrait être interprétée comme une volonté de respecter les suggestions du gouvernement grec, désireux de préserver la paix, et qui clamait vouloir éviter toute agitation en Crète. Le caractère modéré des revendications évoque aussi l'expérience acquise par les insurrections précédentes qui avaient persuadé les Crétois que l'union avec la Grèce était irréalisable sans un statut transitoire. De leur côté, les Crétois qui se trouvaient en Grèce – vétérans de la révolution de 1866 – estimaient que le moment n'était pas propice à une nouvelle insurrection.

Le siège et la prise de Vamos[13] (16–30 mai 1896) fut l'entreprise emblématique du premier chapitre de l'insurrection. Le 24 mai, les Ottomans exercent des représailles: villages pillés, églises et tombes profanés. À la Canée et ses environs, ils commencent à molester et à tuer des chrétiens et les cawas (policiers) des consulats de Grèce et de Russie sont massacrés. Selon les rapports des consuls anglais en Crète, les gendarmes musulmans se rallient à l'armée et aux musulmans contre les chrétiens.[14]

Le siège de Vamos et les massacres de la Canée eurent un très grand retentissement sur l'opinion publique et la presse grecques. Ils ont aussi mobilisé les Crétois qui se trouvaient en Grèce – jusqu'alors hésitants. Ceux-ci, après avoir reconstitué le comité central des Crétois [Κεντρική των Κρητών Επιτροπή] commencent à envoyer systématiquement en Crète des volontaires, des munitions et du ravitaillement.

Le gouvernement grec de Théodore Diliyannis, toujours hésitant, appliqua une politique 'pacifiste et belliqueuse'[15]: il ne soutint pas ouvertement les insurgés mais en même temps il n'entrava ni leur soutien ni le départ des volontaires pour la Crète. L'attitude du roi Georges I^{er} et de son gouvernement tant critiquée par une grande partie de l'opinion publique et de la presse grecques fut, selon Georges Streit, conforme aux règles de neutralité imposées par la conférence de Paris en 1869.[16]

L'inquiétude de l'Europe pourrait être exprimée par les propos du comte Goluchowski. Celui-ci, indiquait au représentant de l'Angleterre à Vienne au mois de mai 1896 à propos des médiations européennes entre les autorités turques, le gouvernement grec et les insurgés: 'Il est à craindre que les événements ayant trop traîné, un courant populaire irrésistible n'emporte

13 Le village de Vamos se situe à 25 kilomètres à l'est de la Canée. Il était depuis 1866 la capitale du département de Sfakia et siège des instances juridiques, financières et militaires de l'administration ottomane de la région.

14 *Blue Book*, 8, 1896, 135, 196, 205, 235 *et passim*.

15 'Ειρηνοπολεμική πολιτική' terme employé pertinemment par Philarétos dans son ouvrage *Ξενοκρατία και Βασιλεία εν Ελλάδι*, 334 *et passim*.

16 *Conférence de Paris*.

le roi Georges et son gouvernement. Tous les torts seraient alors jetés sur les Turcs'; il deviendrait impossible pour la Grèce de se désintéresser des événements si des actes de sauvagerie se produisaient dans l'île. Dans ces circonstances la Grèce aurait certainement les sympathies européennes de son côté'.[17] L'intervention de l'Europe alarmée fut collective auprès de la Porte. Abdul Hamid accepta, contre son gré, le projet de réforme proposé par les ambassadeurs des grandes puissances. Dans un Mémoire adressé aux consuls au mois de juillet 1896, les musulmans de Crète se sont plaints des réformes projetées, les considérant comme contraires aux droits souverains du sultan et aux lois fondamentales de l'île. Suite à quoi, des affiches appelant 'à la guerre sainte, à la résistance armée en faveur des droits sacrés de la patrie'[18] sont placardées à la Canée. Les consuls à Candie et à la Canée observent la situation avec inquiétude. En effet, les chrétiens ont fui dans la montagne et les musulmans ont occupé en masse leurs maisons: ils étaient 30,000 à Candie et 20,000 à la Canée.[19]

À partir du 24 janvier 1897 les meurtres des chrétiens et les exactions reprennent à Candie, à Réthymnon et à la Canée. Le 4 février la situation s'aggrave à la Canée: les musulmans commencent à incendier les quartiers des chrétiens en tuant ceux qui essayaient d'échapper au feu. Les soldats ottomans du haut des remparts tiraient sur la foule qui fuyait les quartiers incendiés.

Le consul de Grèce pria ses confrères européens de faire sortir les marins des bâtiments qui stationnaient dans le port. Les consuls refusèrent. Néanmoins, ces navires accueillirent des chrétiens qui fuyaient la ville. Deux jours plus tard, des marins débarquent uniquement pour protéger les ressortissants européens et leurs biens.

Le 29 et 30 janvier 1897 les chrétiens de toutes les régions de Crète proclament 'l'abolition de la souveraineté de l'empereur sultan Hamid II' et l'union à la Grèce. Le contenu des décrets de Sitia, de Lassithi, de Iérapetra, de Vianno, de Candie est similaire. Tous fustigent l'opposition du gouvernement central ottoman aux réformes, l'impossibilité de leur application 'à cause des vandalismes de la populace ottomane soutenue par le gouvernement et l'armée du sultan'. Tous décrètent 'l'union de la Crète à la mère-patrie, la Grèce' et invitent le roi Georges I^{er} à prendre possession de l'île. Les 'habitants chrétiens' de ses régions appellent 'à la bienveillance et à l'humanité des grandes puissances européennes' et 'invoquent l'assistance du monde civilisé

17 *Blue Book*, 8, 1896, 86, 139.
18 *Ibidem*, 27, 32, 51 et 82.
19 Driault, *La Question d'Orient*, 266.

dans la lutte sacrée [...] pour mettre fin à une situation qui est une honte pour l'humanité'. En même temps la Porte dénonce les réformes comme la cause des troubles et déclare que le gouvernement ottoman était dans l'obligation de se charger de la situation en Crète.[20]

La presse française semble ignorer les premiers jours de l'insurrection crétoise et elle reflète le retard de la réaction des puissances dans l'insurrection crétoise. Les nouvelles de Crète valent quelques lignes, rarement à la une. Les articles sur les massacres de la Canée ou sur le siège de Vamos sont intégrés soit dans la rubrique 'Dernière Heure'[21] soit dans celle des nouvelles de l'étranger. Les quotidiens ne font que reprendre les dépêches de leur correspondant dont le contenu est quasi télégraphique.

Mais, à partir du moment où la situation dans l'île devient incontrôlable et que les consuls commencent à s'activer, de longs articles se mettent à paraître. Journaux et revues occultent la plupart du temps les méfaits ottomans et utilisent un langage modéré. Ils gardent des distances sans doute parce que les Grandes puissances n'ont pas reconnu aux Crétois le caractère de belligérants. L'article du *Figaro* du 29 mai 1896 explique cette attitude: 'Le souci constant que nous prenons de ne pas envenimer les questions internationales, déjà suffisamment irritantes par elles-mêmes, nous a empêché jusqu'ici de parler de la situation de Crète'.[22]

La rivalité, les ambitions antagonistes sont des composantes de la question d'Orient. Les médiations des Grandes puissances auprès de la Porte font ressortir toutes les rivalités dans la région de la Méditerranée et ce sont ces rivalités qui se reflètent dans la presse. Selon le rédacteur d'un article du *Temps*,[23] la Crète est convoitée à la fois par les Grecs 'partisans de la Grande Idée' et par des hommes politiques britanniques 'peu scrupuleux'. *Le Temps* veut aussi 'dissiper (les) appréhensions exagérées' de la presse britannique éprouvées aussi par la 'France et la Russie (qui) poursuivaient en Candie des buts secrets'.[24]

Tant pour la presse dite objective que pour la presse conservatrice les responsables de l'amplification de l'insurrection sont la Grande Bretagne et la Grèce: 'En Grèce, en particulier, les imaginations prennent feu aussitôt. En Angleterre il y a des comités crétois [...] et le ton des journaux, la complaisance avec laquelle on répand certaines nouvelles, les exagérations

20 *Le Mémorial diplomatique*, janvier 1897, 144.
21 *Le Temps*, 26 mai 1896, no 12779, 1.
22 *Le Figaro,* 29 mai 1896, no 150, 2.
23 *Le Temps,* 27 mai 1896, no 12780, 2.
24 *Ibidem*.

qu'on y apporte, ne sont pas de nature à ramener dans les esprits le calme' parce qu'il y a 'quelque exagération dans les dépêches, où on raconte, en les dramatisant, tous les incidents de la lutte entre chrétiens et musulmans'.[25] Par contre, ils comptent 'sur la bonne volonté personnelle du sultan'.[26]

La presse française quant à elle, reconnaît que les événements en Crète 'soulèvent une question morale qu'il est impossible de laisser plus longtemps sans solution'.[27] Cependant dès les premiers jours de l'insurrection la position de la France est plus que claire: 'Le gouvernement de la République a pour principe dans toute sa politique méditerranéenne le maintien absolu de l'intégrité de l'Empire ottoman'[28] et appliquée vigoureusement: 'Ce n'est pas une modification quelconque des possessions territoriales du sultan qu'il faut craindre ou prévoir'.[29] Plus les interventions auprès de la Porte s'intensifient plus le ton des articles varie. Il passe de la suggestion à l'exhortation: 'Nous conseillons aux insurgés de déposer les armes et de s'en remettre à la générosité du sultan […]. Il faut espérer que les insurgés reconnaissent la bonne volonté de la Porte'.[30] Il devient un avertissement: 'Ils risquent de se heurter à l'impossible et de ne rien retirer du couteux et sanglant effort auquel ils sont résolus depuis plusieurs mois',[31] et enfin il se fait menace: 'Les insurgés sauront […] que les sympathies occidentales […] ont un caractère conditionnel: ils les perdraient en poussant leurs exigences au-delà du point que l'Europe aurait fixé'.[32] Pourquoi une telle persévérance? Que craignaient donc les grandes puissances?

Si les Crétois obtenaient gain de cause, à savoir l'union avec la Grèce, ceci 'encouragerait des espérances analogues en Macédoine'[33] et ferait naître 'la jalousie entre les puissances et (tendrait) à rétablir l'ancienne hégémonie de l'Angleterre dans les questions d'Orient'.[34] À la nomination du nouveau gouverneur de l'île, 'l'opinion publique dans tout le Levant enregistre ce succès de la diplomatie française'[35] et on salue 'l'esprit de conciliation d'Abdul Hamid'.[36] Rares sont les articles sceptiques sur la politique étrangère

25 *Journal des Débats* [dorénavant *JdD*], 12 juin 1896, no 164, 1.
26 *Ibidem*.
27 *Le Figaro*, 23 août 1896, no 236, 1.
28 *JdD*, 12 juin 1896, no 164, 1.
29 *Le Figaro*, 23 août 1896, no 236, 1.
30 *JdD*, 30 juin 1896, no 182, 1.
31 *Le Figaro*, 29 mai 1896, no 150, 2.
32 *JdD*, 27 août 1896, no 239, 1.
33 *Le Figaro*, 29 mai 1896, no 150, 2.
34 *La Lanterne*, 27 août 1896, no 7067, 1.
35 *La Lanterne*, 30 août 1896, no 7070, 1.
36 *JdD*, 30 juin 1896, no 182, 1.

française à l'égard de l'Empire ottoman. Un des plus caractéristiques est celui du rédacteur de la revue mensuelle *Le Correspondant*, Hilaire de Lacombe, intitulé 'La Crète et la France autrefois et aujourd'hui'.[37] L'article est une rétrospective de l'histoire de la Crète et de ses relations avec la France depuis 1669 jusqu'au règne de Louis XIV. Cependant, dans son introduction, de Lacombe se réfère aux 'événements qui viennent d'ensanglanter la Crète' et à la 'vieille plaie' de la question d'Orient que 'notre guerre de Crimée n'avait pas cautérisée'.[38] Il critique le soutien de l'Empire ottoman par la France et 'le badigeonnage d'institutions modernes' que les Français se sont 'amusés à lui appliquer'. Pour lui, l'Empire ottoman existe grâce à la tolérance des européens qui 'font la garde autour de ce mort, qui les divise moins que ne les diviseraient les vivants à contenter et à contenir'.[39] En fait, le rédacteur identifie l'intégrité de l'Empire à son impunité 'pour l'abominable supplice de l'Arménie chrétienne'[40] et pour la Crète. Hilaire de Lacombe pense que 'ce monstre musulman aura été l'enfant gâté de la chrétienté'.[41]

Si le Pape reste prudent en ce qui concerne les chrétiens orthodoxes de l'Orient, de nombreuses voix s'élèvent dans l'Église de France. Les massacres des chrétiens en Arménie et en Crète relèvent du combat des chrétiens contre les occupants musulmans. Les forces conservatrices sont affectées par cet aspect religieux du soulèvement. *La Croix* dans un article intitulé 'Les empêcheurs de s'insurger en rond'[42] se demande 'pourquoi cette ostensible protection accordée à l'islamisme dans une terre où la race ottomane ne s'est jamais posée'. Le rédacteur de l'article classe le soulèvement crétois parmi 'les saintes et belles insurrections'. Il condamne la réaction tardive des consuls qui 'pendant des mois jabotent, parlotent tripotent et complotent' et il fustige l'intervention flagrante des puissances auprès du roi et du gouvernement grecs auxquels les puissances 'ont donné leurs ordres comme M. Barthou[43] donne les siens à ses préfets'.

La tension s'apaise temporairement. Pourtant, l'Empire ottoman fait traîner l'application des réformes et les musulmans sont mécontents parce qu'ils considèrent que les réformes imposées par les grandes puissances favorisent les chrétiens. Les ambassadeurs estiment que la situation qui

37 Hilaire de Lacombe, 'La Crète et la France autrefois et aujourd'hui'.
38 *Ibidem*, 981.
39 *Ibidem*, 983.
40 *Ibidem*.
41 *Ibidem*.
42 *La Croix*, 27 août 1896, no 4092, 1–2.
43 Louis Barthou, ministre de l'Intérieur.

devient alarmante 'était l'œuvre de certaines personnalités musulmanes de l'entourage du sultan qui ne cessaient d'écrire aux musulmans de la Crète que les réformes n'existaient que sur le papier et qu'elles ne seraient jamais mises à exécution'.[44]

En janvier 1897, les massacres recommencent dans les villes; les quartiers des chrétiens de la Canée sont incendiés et les deux tiers de leurs maisons ont été détruits. 'I saw Canea in flame. It had been set on by Musulmans, who thus started the great revolt', écrivait Elefthérios Venizélos.[45]

En Grèce, le roi soumis à la pression de l'opinion publique, de l'opposition et de la Société nationale réagit et prend la décision d'envoyer deux cuirassés et une flottille de torpilleurs – le Prince Georges à sa tête – avec pour mission de s'opposer, même par la force, à l'arrivée de renforts ottomans'. Deux jours après, le 13 janvier 1897, le colonel Timoléon Vassos, à la tête d'un détachement de 2000 hommes, débarque en Crète avec pour mission d'occuper l'île 'au nom de Georges I^{er}, roi des Hellènes' et de publier 'la proclamation relative à l'occupation de la Crète'.[46]

La révolte de 1897 – La guerre gréco-turque

Les Crétois reprennent les armes. Venizélos organise un camp dans la péninsule d'Akrotiri où s'installent le gouvernement provisoire et l'Assemblée de Crète. Ils hissent le drapeau grec et proclament l'union de l'île à la Grèce. Les insurgés continuent à recevoir régulièrement l'aide matérielle de la Grèce. De plus, l'Allemagne, l'Autriche-Hongrie, la France, la Grande Bretagne, l'Italie et la Russie décident de former une force expéditionnaire pour procéder à l'occupation des principales villes et au blocus de l'île. Le 21 février le camp d'Akrotiri est bombardé par les flottes britanniques, russes, allemandes et autrichiennes. Les navires français et italiens sont présents mais n'y participent pas. Plusieurs journaux essaient de minimiser l'acte en déformant la réalité: 'Les troupes du colonel Vassos ont abusé de la patience des amiraux et ils ont fini par provoquer l'incident qui s'est produit hier. Il ne faudrait pas d'ailleurs en exagérer la portée. Il est sans doute temps de leur signifier ainsi qu'aux cerveaux brûlés du petit corps expéditionnaire que la

44 *Livre Jaune*, I, 469, Blanc à Hanotaux, 3 décembre 1896.

45 Chester, *Life of Venizelos*, 135.

46 *Journal officiel du Royaume des Hellènes*, 20, 6671, 1/13 février 1897. Pour la traduction en français du décret et de la proclamation lancée par Timoléon Vassos, voir: Streit, 'La question crétoise au point de vue international', 482–483.

tolérance a ses limites'.[47] *Le Rappel*, *L'Éclair*, *Le Siècle* et *Le Figaro* font écho. *Le Journal des Débats*, lui, tente de justifier le bombardement: 'Quelle que soit notre sympathie pour la Grèce comment tolérer son attitude actuelle? Celle de la Porte ottomane est bien différente; elle est à la fois plus digne et plus habile. […] On compare aujourd'hui la résignation de la Porte […] à l'impatience querelleuse de la Grèce'.[48]

Selon certains quotidiens grecs, à la nouvelle du bombardement et de l'affermissement du blocus de la Crète, Georges I^{er} aurait déclaré à un ambassadeur: 'Je connais très bien ma force et la faiblesse de l'Europe. Aujourd'hui je tiens entre mes mains la paix en Europe et ma décision est ferme et irrévocable: Je me servirai de cette force. Si vous m'évincez de la Crète, je me dirigerai vers les frontières et j'avancerai vers la Macédoine à la tête de 300,000 hommes. Nous verrons bien alors ce que deviendra l'unanimité européenne et la coalition contre la Grèce en faveur de la paix en Europe'.[49]

C'est pourquoi, les grandes puissances, à l'instigation du Kaiser, s'appliquaient à contraindre la Grèce à retirer ses forces et ses navires de l'île. Guillaume II, déterminé par son antipathie pour Georges I^{er}, avait demandé le blocus continental de la Grèce et simultanément incitait l'Empire ottoman à des préparatifs de guerre. L'attitude de la Grèce aurait été pour le Kaiser l'occasion inespérée de supplanter l'anglophile Georges I^{er} pour le remplacer par le germanophile héritier du trône, Constantin.

À Athènes, la déception et l'exaspération explosent et il est difficile à Georges I^{er} de ne pas céder. Ainsi, la Grèce isolée se dirigeait inéluctablement vers la guerre. Le 10 avril des troupes irrégulières grecques franchissent la frontière et le 17 avril 1897, l'Empire ottoman déclare la guerre à la Grèce. Les grandes puissances, spectatrices, attendent le moment propice pour offrir leur médiation. La guerre n'a duré qu'un mois. Elle s'est avérée non seulement 'malencontreuse' mais aussi désastreuse. La Grèce sort vaincue et se voit obligée de signer le traité de Constantinople qui l'oblige à payer à l'Empire ottoman quatre millions de livres turques (95 millions franc-or) d'indemnité de guerre.[50] Ainsi la Grèce est mise sous la tutelle d'une Commission de contrôle financier internationale.[51] Une anecdote sur les négociations résume le traité: 'Un diplomate à qui le président du Conseil

47 *Le Temps*, 22 février 1897, no 13049, 1.

48 *JdD*, 24 février 1897, no 54, 1.

49 Philarétos, *Ξενοκρατία και Βασιλεία εν Ελλάδι*, 363–364.

50 Ministère des Affaires étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques*, *Affaires d'Orient*, 1898, 65–71.

51 Ministère des Affaires étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques*, *Arrangement financier*, 1898b, 33.

grec demandait hier les motifs des retards apportés par les puissances à la conclusion de la paix répond: 'Êtes-vous donc aveugle pour ne le point voir? Votre arrêt ayant été prononcé, on délibère sur le choix de l'arbre où vous serez pendus'.[52] Seul point positif: la guerre a ouvert la voie à l'autonomie de la Crète en décembre 1898.

À partir du mois de février 1897 la Crète et la Grèce occupent plus de place dans les journaux et font souvent la une. Le bombardement d'Akrotiri et le déclenchement de la guerre éveillèrent les consciences et suscitèrent 'en dehors des gouvernements d'irrésistibles courants de sympathie'.[53] Des démonstrations en faveur de la Crète et de la Grèce ont lieu presque tous les jours à Paris, à Marseille, à Lyon, à Toulouse, à Montpellier, à Bordeaux, à Lille, à Manchester, à Londres. 4000 étudiants et ouvriers se réunissent au Tivoli Vauxhall, plus de 1000 assistent au grand meeting au Trianon-Concert. Aux étudiants et aux autres citoyens s'unit le monde culturel et artistique. Un grand concert fut donné à la salle Pleyel au profit des réfugiés crétois en Grèce par l'Association des étudiants Hellènes à Paris, avec le 'concours gracieux' des professeurs du Conservatoire, des membres de l'orchestre de l'Opéra, des comédiens de la Comédie française et de l'Odéon et d'autres artistes.[54] Sarah Bernard donna une matinée extraordinaire aux bénéfices des victimes de Crète.[55] 'M. Victor Ullmann, administrateur général du théâtre de la Renaissance a versé la somme de 11.605,80 francs entre les mains de M. Delyanni, ministre de la Grèce à Paris'.[56] Juste après la représentation, Edmond Rostand a récité son poème 'Pour la Grèce'.[57] Le comité pour la Grèce fait appel à des dons et des journaux adhérents les collectent.[58] *L'Intransigeant* publie les listes de noms des contributeurs parmi lesquels nous relevons ceux de Maurice Barrès, Paul Meurice, Alphonse Daudet et Aristide Briand.[59] Des volontaires étrangers 'affluent et demandent à s'enrôler dans l'armée grecque'.[60] Parmi ces volontaires, Riccioti Garibaldi, désireux de secourir les Crétois comme il l'avait fait en 1866–1867, arrive en Grèce en mai 1897 à la tête d'un bataillon de 1300 volontaires italiens, français, anglais,

52 *Le Temps*, 21 septembre 1897, no 13259, 2.

53 *L'Intransigeant*, 17 février 1897, no 6062, 1.

54 *Le Temps*, 13 mars 1897, 13068, 4; *L'Intransigeant*, 11 mars 1897, no 6084, 2.

55 *Ibidem*.

56 *L'Intransigeant*, 18 mars 1897, no 6091, 2.

57 *Ibidem*. *L'Intransigeant* publie cinq strophes du poème.

58 *Autorité, Cocarde, Écho de l'Armée, Écho de Paris, Événement, Jour, Journal, La Justice, La Lanterne, Libre Parole, Plume, Paris, Patrie, Petit Caporal, Petite République, Presse, Radical, Rappel, La Nouvelle Revue, La Revue Socialiste, Soleil, Le Peuple français*.

59 *L'Intransigeant*, 6 mai–11 mai 1897, nos 6140–6145.

60 *Le Temps*, 16 mars 1897, no 13071, 1.

polonais et hongrois.[61] Un autre Italien, Amilcare Cipriani, chef d'État-major pendant la Commune, commande des volontaires. *Le Temps* commente leur présence au front de l'Épire: 'Un gouvernement sérieux ne peut admettre que des irréguliers, parmi lesquels des étrangers, cerveaux brûlés, spécialistes de tous les grabuges, prennent sur eux de déclarer la guerre et de forcer la main (au roi)'.[62] Le ton est complètement différent dans deux longs articles qui portent exactement le même titre: 'Volontaires 1870–1897' parus dans *La Croix* et *L'Intransigeant*. Leurs rédacteurs rappellent aux lecteurs les 1500 volontaires Grecs 'qui versèrent leur sang pour la France' dont 200 'moururent sous les balles prussiennes' surtout dans l'armée des Vosges, dans celle de la Loire et pendant le siège de Paris.[63] Selon *La Croix* le fait que la majorité de ces jeunes aient été engagés au côté des chemises rouges de Garibaldi a 'jeté un voile sur le généreux dévouement des Hellènes'.

Le contenu de l'article de *L'Intransigeant* est quasiment identique. Ce qui nous fait penser soit à un léger plagiat soit au même rédacteur. Les articles font l'historique de la mobilisation des Grecs. Le ton de la fin de l'article pourtant est différent: il réprimande le ministre des Affaires étrangères, Gabriel Hanotaux pour 'sa singulière façon de comprendre et de pratiquer la reconnaissance'.[64]

La plaie de la guerre de 1870 est encore béante. *L'Intransigeant* et l'un des rares quotidiens nationaux qui critique violemment 'la hideuse cohabitation de la République avec l'Empire allemand, et se demande comment la France peut 's'unir pour le démembrement de la Grèce avec le petit-fils de celui qui a démembré la France'.[65]

Philhellènes ou crétophiles?

'Qui se souvient aujourd'hui de l'émotion qu'éveillait le nom seul de la Grèce, de 1821 à 1829?' écrivait Edgard Quinet en 1857.[66] 'Nous le disons avec amertume, mais la réalité est beaucoup plus désolante: nous avons perdu l'estime de l'Europe', écrivait Théodore Afentoulis dans le journal *Αθηνά* [Athéna] le 11 juillet 1862. Cet extrait est évocateur à la fois du sentiment régnant en Grèce et de l'attitude de l'Occident à son égard après la guerre de Crimée.

61 Fornaro, 'Garibaldi et l'Europe danubienne et balkanique', 40–41.
62 *Le Temps*, 11 avril 1897, no 13097, 1.
63 *La Croix*, 24 février 1897, no 4245, 1
64 *L'Intransigeant*, 11 mars, 1897, no 6084, 1.
65 *L'Intransigeant*, 22 février 1897, no 6067, 1.
66 Quinet, *La Grèce moderne et ses rapports à l'antiquité*, 1.

La ferveur philhellène est révolue. C'est ce que souligne Jules Claretie dans un article évoquant Delacroix, Lebrun, Béranger 'pris de la belle fièvre hellénique' et surtout Victor Hugo et les *Orientales* pour les opposer à la situation actuelle. 'C'est Navarin. Espérons que le sort nous épargnera un Navarin à l'envers'.[67] Denys Cochin, interpellant le gouvernement sur les affaires crétoises a rappelé que les Français étaient à Navarin.[68] La métaphore expressive du Navarin est reprise plusieurs fois dans les débats à l'Assemblée nationale par opposition à l'attitude actuelle de la France à l'égard de la Grèce. L'expression qui était sur les lèvres de plusieurs députés et qui qualifiait le mieux cette attitude était 'la revanche de Navarin'.[69] Pourquoi 'la revanche' de Navarin ou comme l'exprime Henri Rochefort dans *L'Intransigeant* 'une nouvelle bataille non cette fois contre les Turcs mais contre les Grecs'?[70]

La régression du philhellénisme est la conséquence des nouvelles priorités politiques et économiques européennes dictées par les enjeux géostratégiques. Les transcriptions des débats à l'Assemblée révèlent la crainte du gouvernement français que la révolte crétoise et l'attitude de la Grèce ne fassent naître d'autres 'convoitises' dans les Balkans, surtout en Macédoine. Ce qui pourrait ébranler le *statu quo* en Europe et menacer l'intégrité de l'Empire ottoman.[71]

Les enjeux économiques sont révélés dans un article de *L'Intransigeant* qui porte le titre prosaïque mais éloquent 'Question de gros sous'.[72] Selon son rédacteur, le baron Marshall, ministre des Affaires étrangères, avait déclaré au Reichstag que 'le gouvernement allemand fera tous ses efforts pour sauvegarder les intérêts des Allemands qui détiennent 300 millions de valeurs orientales'.

La déclaration cynique du baron Marshall est reprise par Anatole France dans *Le Mannequin d'osier*, publié en 1897, où l'on peut lire à propos de l'alliance russe:

> Hélas! devait-elle nous jeter, à son premier essai, dans le parti du sultan assassin, et nous conduire en Crète pour lancer des obus à la mélinite sur des chrétiens coupables d'une longue misère? Mais ce n'est pas à la Russie, c'est à la haute banque engagée sur les fonds ottomans, que nous avons souci de complaire.

67 *Le Temps*, 18 février 1897, no 13045, 2.
68 *Le Temps*, 23 février 1897, no 13050, 4.
69 *Le Temps*, 24 février 1897, no 13051, 2; *JdD*, 24 février 1897, no 54, 1.
70 *L'Intransigeant*, 19 février 1897, no 6064, 1.
71 *Le Temps*, 24 février 1897, no 13051, 2; *JdD*, 24 février 1897, no 54, 1.
72 *L'Intransigeant*, 25 février 1897, no 6070, 1.

> La voilà, s'écria le préfet, la voilà bien la politique de sentiment! Tu devrais pourtant savoir où elle mène. Et je ne vois fichtre pas ce qui peut t'exciter en faveur des Grecs. Ils ne sont pas intéressants.[73]

La Grèce donc n'est pas intéressante financièrement, et pour cause. En 1878, elle réussit à réguler sa dette extérieure importante, qui provenait de prêts accordés pour son 'indépendance' dans les années 1824, 1825 et 1833. Au cours de la période 1879–1893, le déficit budgétaire s'élevait à 471 millions de drachmes et il était impossible de le couvrir avec les recettes publiques. La seule solution fut le recours à des emprunts externes et internes, ce qui s'est traduit par un total de neuf prêts représentant un montant cumulé de 640 millions de francs or. Cependant, le prix d'émission réel s'élevait à 70% de la valeur nominale des obligations, ce qui signifie que seulement 462,5 millions avaient été versés dans les caisses de l'État. Mais les créanciers de la Grèce (la Banque de Paris, Brleishrober de Berlin, Harmbo de Londres et la Banque de Constantinople) avaient une créance de 100%, obtenant ainsi un taux d'intérêt de 5% sur le prix nominal. Ainsi le taux d'endettement fut vertigineux et l'État grec fit faillite et suspendit le paiement des annuités. Suite aux protestations des créanciers, les négociations entamées durèrent quatre ans.

'À l'heure où les finances du royaume jouissaient à l'étranger d'une si fâcheuse réputation',[74] en avril 1896, les Jeux olympiques eurent lieu à Athènes et avaient attiré l'attention de la presse européenne. Malgré l'esprit internationaliste et la volonté de redécouvrir la Grèce antique dans sa continuité moderne, les relations de la Grèce avec l'Europe ne s'améliorent pas et il en va de même pour le prestige du pays.

En 1897, la Grèce est toujours exsangue. *Le Journal* résume la situation dans un article réquisitoire: 'Que des fois nous n'avons pas entendu des Grecs se plaindre du recul de l'Hellénisme 'la Grande Idée'. Toujours nous leur répondions: Pour faire de la bonne politique, il faut des bonnes finances'. Pour le rédacteur de l'article un pays endetté qui s'offre le luxe d'une guerre contre l'Empire ottoman compromet 'la paix de l'Europe, ce qui est mal, et trouble les opérations de Bourse, ce qui est plus mal encore!' Et il conclut cyniquement: 'Les Grecs feront bien, plus tard, quand l'accalmie si désirée se sera produite et qu'ils auront le loisir de s'occuper de leurs affaires intérieures, de se rappeler du vieux proverbe 'Payez et vous serez considérés'.[75]

73 France, *Le Mannequin d'osier, Histoire contemporaine*, 185.
74 Coubertin, 'La Préface des Jeux olympiques', 116–117.
75 *Le Journal*, 21 février 1897, no 1608, 2.

Outre la virulence des créanciers et de la presse gouvernementale officielle française, la perte de l'appui de l'Europe est traduite dans plusieurs articles de la presse grecque comme la désillusion de l'Europe envers la Grèce. Le même discours est adopté dans les articles de la presse française: 'Lorsque l'Europe créa aux frontières de la Barbarie une Hellade ardente et libre elle lui donna une haute mission de progrès et de civilisation. Ne sera-t-on pas en droit de lui demander des comptes, de lui demander ce qu'elle a fait du crédit moral confié à sa loyauté? [...] que le peuple grec sache bien: il ne peut compter que sur lui-même'.[76] Cette constatation s'inscrit dans la sauvegarde des intérêts des États coloniaux face aux États économiquement faibles sur lesquels ils exercent un 'contrôle quasi colonial'.[77]

La Grèce avait donc trompé les attentes de l'Europe. Des attentes pourtant ambiguës. D'un côté, la Grèce dont parlaient Chateaubriand, Nerval et Lamartine est altérée par le processus de la modernisation et déçoit l'imaginaire occidental.[78] De l'autre, le nouvel État ayant tant de potentiel à devenir un modèle dans les Balkans 'souffrait de ces révolutions, de ces changements perpétuels de cabinet, du brigandage, et de mille autres choses [...]' estime le diplomate Arthur de Gobineau qui continue en analysant de façon mordante la responsabilité de l'Europe:

> À qui la faute? À la Grèce? En aucune manière. Tout ce qu'elle était, la responsabilité en appartient uniquement à l'Europe. Celle-ci s'était chargée de l'éducation complète de la population hellénique; elle avait décidé dans sa sagesse qu'elle en ferait un peuple représentatif, constitutionnel, un peuple à son image, habillé à sa mode, raisonnant comme elle, et elle avait complètement omis de considérer que c'était du jour au lendemain, sans transition, sans recours accessoires que le sujet turc de la veille aurait la bonté de se considérer le lendemain, d'agir en toute affaire comme un citoyen né aux États du roi Louis-Philippe. [...] l'Europe, indignée de voir d'elle-même non pas un portrait, mais une caricature aussi réussie et aussi ressemblante, se fâcha de plus en plus contre sa création, trouvant qu'elle se faisait avec trop d'exagération à son image.[79]

Quel était l'état d'esprit de la France dans ces années-là? Des politiques et des intellectuels s'étaient certes impliqués dans les manifestations en faveur

76 Geova, *La Grèce. La situation actuelle*, 29–30.

77 Pour la définition du terme, voir: Osterhammel, 'Colonialisme et Empires coloniaux', 63–64.

78 Said, *L'Orientalisme*, 13–14 *et passim*.

79 Gobineau, *Deux études sur la Grèce moderne*, 216 et 231.

de la révolte crétoise. Mais la mobilisation de 1896–1897 fut moindre que celle de 1866–1868.

Lors des débats à l'Assemblée nationale des députés tels que Jules Méline, Jean Jaurès, Alexandre Millerand ou le catholique libéral Denys Cochin mirent en question les fondamentaux de la politique étrangère et de la pensée française dans un cadre de politique anti-gouvernementale. Même s'ils interpelaient le gouvernement français sur son attitude à l'égard de la Crète et des mesures de coercition à l'encontre de la Grèce, cela se faisait plutôt pour critiquer l'inertie de la France face aux massacres de 200,000 Arméniens (1894–1896) en Anatolie que pour soutenir les revendications grecques. La mauvaise conscience générée par le massacre qui avait choqué l'opinion publique, a forcé les grandes puissances européennes à s'intéresser à la Crète. 'Depuis les massacres d'Arménie, les Crétois nous sont devenus sympathiques' écrivait *La Croix* en toute sincérité.[80]

Le *Journal des Débats* donne de cette sympathie une interprétation plus pragmatique: La Crète, 'n'est pas comme l'Arménie perdue sur les plateaux montagneux de l'Anatolie elle est accessible partout, et elle offre à cet égard des tentations auxquelles toutes les puissances ne résisteraient peut-être pas également'.[81]

L'amitié pour la Grèce est devenue bien relative. Nous sommes loin des Miltiades, des Thémistocles qui se battaient contre les barbares. La Grèce n'est plus conçue comme 'la terre des Hellènes', berceau de la civilisation et de la démocratie mais plutôt comme perturbatrice de la stabilité de l'Europe. Les grandes puissances n'accourent plus à sa rescousse mais lui appliquent la politique de la canonnière. Dimitrios Bikélas constate que: 'Le vrai philhellénisme, le philhellénisme pour ainsi dire historique, avait duré autant que la guerre de l'indépendance et il devait finir avec elle'.[82]

Pierre de Coubertin explique de son point de vue les raisons du refroidissement des relations entre la Grèce et l'Europe: 'L'homme du nord se plaint volontiers de la méfiance que lui témoignent les Hellènes, même quand il vient vers eux avec des paroles de miel et des présents dans les mains. Comme on leur pardonne! Leur génie incompris, leurs ambitions ridiculisées, leurs efforts paralysés, leur existence nationale elle-même contestée, voilà le prix que l'Occident leur a fait payer un maussade appui donné à des revendications légitimes entre toutes'.[83] En somme, on constate

80 *La Croix*, 27 août 1896, no 4092, 2.
81 *JdD*, 12 juin 1896, no 164, 1
82 Bikélas, 'Le philhellénisme en France', 363.
83 Coubertin, 'La Préface des Jeux olympiques', 123.

un rétrécissement de l'intérêt porté à la Grèce. L'élan pour la cause crétoise dans l'opinion publique européenne, américaine et australienne pourrait plutôt être qualifié de 'crétomanie'[84] que de philhellénisme.

Bibliographie

Sources primaires

Blue Book: Turkey. 1896, no 8 (Further Correspondence Relating to the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey), (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1896).
Die Presse (Vienne: 1878).
Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires (Paris: 1896, 1897)
La Croix (Paris: 1896, 1897).
La Lanterne (Paris: 1896).
Le Figaro (Paris: 1896, 1897).
Le Journal (Paris: 1897).
Le Mémorial diplomatique (Paris: janvier 1897).
Le Temps (Paris: 1878, 1896, 1897).
L'Intransigeant (Paris: 1896, 1897).
Livre jaune, Affaires d'Orient: Affaire de Crète (juin 1894-février 1897), XXV (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1897).
Ministère des Affaires étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques, Affaires d'Orient: négociations pour la paix, traité gréco-turc: mai–décembre 1897* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1898).
Ministère des Affaires étrangères, *Documents diplomatiques, Arrangement financier avec la Grèce, travaux de la Commission internationale chargée de la préparation du projet* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1898b).

Sources secondaires

Bikélas, D[imitrios], 'Le philhellénisme en France', *Revue d'Histoire diplomatique*, 3 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), 346–365.
Chester, S.M, *Life of Venizelos, with a Letter from His Excellency M. Venizelos* (London: Constable, 1921).
Conférence de Paris (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1869).

84 Terme employé par Paul Morand pour qualifier l'engouement pour l'art crétois qui dominait les beaux-arts en Europe au début du XX^{e} siècle. Cf. Morand, 'La Crète'.

Coubertin, Pierre de, 'La Préface des Jeux olympiques' in *Souvenirs d'Amérique et de Grèce*, (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1897) ch. VII.

Driault, Edouard, *La Question d'Orient depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Félix Alcan Éditeur, 1898).

Driault, Edouard et Michel Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de 1821 à nos jours. Le règne de Georges I^er^ avant le traité de Berlin (1862–1878). Hellénisme et slavisme*, III (Paris: PUF, 1926).

Fornaro, Pascuale, 'Garibaldi et l'Europe danubienne et balkanique. Entre réalité et mythe' in *Garibaldi: modèle, contre modèle*, dir. Jean-Yves Frétigné et Paul Pasteur (Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2011), 31–41.

France, Anatole, *Le Mannequin d'osier. Histoire contemporaine II* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1925).

Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983).

Geova [Georges Vayssié], *La Grèce. La situation actuelle. Le mal, les causes, les remèdes*, 3^e^ édition (Alexandrie: Imprimerie Générale, 1897).

Gobineau, Arthur de, *Deux études sur la Grèce moderne: Capodistrias, le Royaume des Hellènes* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1905).

Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nations et nationalisme depuis 1780. Programme, mythe, réalité* (Paris: Folio, 2010).

Lacombe, Hilaire de, 'La Crète et la France autrefois et aujourd'hui', *Le Correspondant*, 25 septembre 1896, 981–1010.

Miard-Delacroix, Hélène. 'L'Allemagne impériale entre "place au soleil" et "place à part"', *Relations internationales*, 3:123 (2005), 25–36.

Michalopoulos, Dimitris, *La Révolution grecque de 1862 et l'insurrection crétoise de 1866. Conséquences politiques et complications diplomatiques* (Istanbul: Isis, 2006).

Morand, Paul, 'La Crète', *La Revue des Voyages*, 39 (1960).

Osterhammel, Jürgen, 'Colonialisme et Empires coloniaux', *Labyrinthe*, 35 (2010), 57–68.

Philarétos, Georges, *Ξενοκρατία και Βασιλεία εν Ελλάδι (1821-1897)* [Xénocratie et royauté en Grèce (1821–1897)] (Athènes: Imprimerie de Spyridon Kousoulinos, 1897).

Quinet, Edgard, *La Grèce moderne et ses rapports à l'antiquité* (Paris: Pagnerre, 1857).

Said, Edward W., *L'Orientalisme. L'Orient créé par l'Occident* (Paris: Seuil, 2005).

Streit, Georges, 'La question crétoise au point de vue du droit international', première partie, *Revue générale de droit international*, 4 (Paris: A. Pedone, 1897), 61–104, 446–483.

Tulard, Jean, *Histoire de la Crète* (Paris: PUF, 1979).

Index of Names

Abdul Hamid II 120, 245, 247, 249
About, Edmond 13, 26, 35, 37, 40–41, 47, 52, 112, 124n, 126
Abresch, F.L. 198
Adam, Edmond 108
Adam, Juliette 21n, 26–27, 93, 107–113, 114–115, 118, 120–125, 128–129, 156n, 177–178
Afentoulis, Théodore 254
Agoult, Marie d' (Daniel Stern) 111
Ali Pasha 149
Amalia, Queen of Greece 34, 38, 51–52
Amandos, Konstantinos 230n, 231
Ampère, Jean–Jacques 37, 69
Anacreon 48, 197
Antona–Traversi, Camillo 182
Appleton, Charles Edward 140
Aravantinos, Panagiotis 146
Aristophanes 73
Aristotle 68–69
Arsenis, Jean 114
Asopios, Konstantinos 53
Association de bienfaisance grecque de Paris 35
Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France 24, 33–35, 55, 83, 87–89, 91–92, 94, 192, 194–195, 216–217, 232

Barrès, Maurice 253
Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, Jules 69
Bees, Nikos A., *see* Veis, Nikos A.
Bellucci, Franca 171, 176–177
Béranger, Pierre-Jean de 255
Berens, Fred. 204
Bernard, Sarah 253
Bernardin de Saint-Pierre 71
Bernhard, Prince of Saxe-Meiningen 199
Beulé, Charles Ernest 44
Beulé, Émile 76
Bikelas, Dimitrios/Bikélas, Dimitrios 11, 20, 26, 92–93, 95, 113, 117, 119, 121–122, 124–126, 141n, 146–147, 150, 156n, 178, 198, 200, 206, 209–210, 221–222, 230, 258
Binaut, Louis A. 69
Bizyénos, Georgios, *see* Vizyenos, Georgios
Blackie, John Stuart 144, 194, 205
Boase, Charles William 141, 146
Boccardi, Alberto 178
Boeckh, August 220
Boissonade, J.F. 34, 37–38
Bolland, G.J.P.J. 204
Boltz, August 191–192, 195, 199, 202, 204, 206–207, 221–222, 226n
Bonaparte, Napoléon (Napoléon I^er^) 118, 216
Bonghi, Ruggero 172
Botsaris, Markos 39n, 49, 180
Bovet, Marie-Anne de 128
Braïla-Armeni, Pietro (Braïlas-Armenis, Petros) 156
Brandis, Christian August 86
Briand, Aristide 253
Brue, Benjamin 149
Brunet de Presle, Wladimir 34, 37–38, 48, 54, 88, 90–92, 95, 194, 216
Brunetière, Ferdinand 66
Buloz, Charles 66, 109
Buloz, François 66
Burnouf, Émile 77
Bury, John Bagnell 147
Buscalioni, Carlo Michele 177
Byron, George Gordon, Lord 11, 16, 84, 139, 142, 184, 197

Caclamanos, Dimitrios 114
Calbo, Andrea, *see* Kalvos, Andreas
Canini, Marco Antonio 177
Canna, Giovanni 206
Cantù, Cesare 174
Carducci, Giosuè 182, 206
Carpinato, Caterina 174
Cauchin, Denys 258
Chalot, comte de 120
Chamberlain, Joseph 243
Chateaubriand, François-René de 11, 52, 257
Chiarini, Giuseppe 184
Chiotis, Panagiotis 156
Christopoulos/Christopulos, Athanasios 19, 38, 48, 146, 206, 220–221
Chrysostom, John 173
Church, Richard 150
Cipriani, Amilcare 254
Clarétie, Jules 255
Cobet, Carel Gabriel 192
Cochin, Denys 255, 258
Comparetti, Domenico 173
Constantine, Crown Prince of Greece / Constantin, diadoque de Grèce 199, 252
Contostavlos, Alexandre A. 114
Coray, Adamance, *see* Korais, Adamantios
Coubertin, Pierre de 119, 128, 258
Cousin, Victor 37
Couturat, Louis 193
Csaplár, Benedikt 205
Curtius, Ernst 126

D'Annunzio, Gabriele 182
Dante 48, 147
Daudet, Alphonse 253
Daurès, Gabriel 126
David D'Angers, Pierre-Jean 39n, 49
Dawes, Mary C. 205–206

De Gubernatis, Angelo 175, 177–182, 184
Deffner, Joseph Michael 145, 224
Dehèque, Félix Désiré 88
D'Eichthal, Gustave 54, 87, 90, 194–195
Delacroix, Eugène 255
Delyannis, Théodore, *see* Diligiannis, Théodoros
Delyannis, Nicolas 253
Démitriadis 117
Démosthène 46
D'Estournelles de Constant, Paul Henri Benjamin 76, 124
Didot, Ambroise Firmin 88
Dieterich, Karl 228, 230
Diligiannis, Theodoros 114, 201, 207, 246
Dimitsas, Margaritis 205
D'Istria, Dora (Koltsova-Massalskaya, Helena) 73–75, 78, 175
Dobschütz, Ernest von 229
Dossios, Nikolaos 202, 205
Doublet, Georges 119
Dowdall, Launcelot D. 205–206
Dräseke, Johannes 229
Drosinis/Drossinis, Georgios 20, 152, 206, 210n, 221
Du Camp, Maxime 37
Dübner, Johann Friedrich 54
Duvray, M. (pen name), *see* Papadopoulos Vretos, Marinos

Ebersolt, Jean 229
Edmonds, Elizabeth Mayhew 94, 141–142, 143n, 150–155, 157
Eftaliotis, Argyris 206
Egger, Émile 54, 88, 95
Ellissen, Adolf 86, 194
Ellissen, Otto A. 206, 221
Engel, Eduard 195, 204
Erasmus 192
Es, A. Van den 198, 207, 208
Esquiros, Henri-François-Alphonse 40
Estienne, Henri 35

Fabens, Raoul 128
Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp 77, 123, 146, 148n, 179–180, 218
Fauriel, Claude 34, 45–46, 84–85, 88, 121, 146, 216, 220
Ferbos, Panagiotis 207
Ferrette, Jules 205
Finlay, George 147, 149
Flament, A.J. 196–198, 202, 204
Flanor (literary society) 196
Flaubert, Gustave 37, 108
Foscolo, Ugo 182
Fountoukli, Florentia 205
Fournel, Victor 33
France, Anatole 255

Gambetta, Léon 107–108
Garibaldi, Giuseppe 117n, 168
Garibaldi, Riccioti 253–254
Garnett, Lucy M.J. 151
Gavrielidis, Vlassios 200
Geldart, Edward Martin 94
Gennadios, Ioannis/Gennadius, John 87n, 93, 150
Georgakis, M. 146
George I, King of Greece/Georges I[er], roi de Grèce 13–14, 35, 72, 119, 246–247, 251–252
Gfrörer, August Friedrich 181
Gheusi, P.B. 109n
Giannoukos, Ioannis G. 206–207
Gidel, Charles 88, 90–91, 148
Gilman, Daniel Coit 210
Girard, Jules 88–89
Girardin, Émile de 109
Girardin, Saint-Marc de 35, 37–38, 40, 43
Gladstone, William Ewart 243
Gobineau, Arthur de 257
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 85, 219–220
Goluchowski, Count Agenor Maria Adam 245, 246
Gordon, Thomas 218
Gotsi, Georgia 19, 21
Gregorovius, Ferdinand 148
Grimm, Jacob 220
Gryparis 156
Guillaume II, empereur allemand 244, 252

Hanbury, Robert William 138–139, 159
Hanotaux, Gabriel 254
Harissis, Pavlos 205
Hase, Karl Benedict/Hase, Charles-Benoît 46, 54, 90–91, 95, 316
Hatzidakis, Geogrios N. 205, 224n, 228, 231
Hatzopoulos, Kostantinos 222
Haxthausen, Werner von 220
Heisenberg, August 229
Hercules 77
Herodotus 68
Hertzberg, Gustav Friedrich 147
Hesseling, D.C. 209, 228
Hoesslin, Julius Konstantin Balthasar von 222
Hokwerda, Hero 197n, 210n
Homer/Homère 53, 75, 153, 173, 200, 216
Homolle, Théodore 126
Hoogvlied, J. M. 204
Hopf, Karl 147, 180
Hugo, Victor 14, 31, 68, 255
Humboldt, Wilhelm von 217

Iakovidis, Georgios 223
Iken, Carl 84, 218–220
Ioannou/Ioannis, Filippos 53, 175, 180
Irneh, *see* Muller, Hendrik Clemens

Jannaris/Jannarakis, Antonios 146, 228
Janzen, Peter 195
Jaspar, W. 204
Jaurès, Jean 258
Jeannarakis, Antonios, *see* Jannaris, Antonios

Jebb, Richard Claverhouse 138, 139n, 141, 144
Justinian I, Byzantine Emperor 182

Kalvos, Andreas 182, 206
Kambysis, Yannis 207
Kanellos, Stefanos 219
Kapodistrias, Ioannis 38, 43, 70, 218
Karasoutsas, Ioannis 48, 206
Karkavitsas, Andreas 207, 221
Katakouzinos, Alexandros 54
Katsigiannis, Alexandros 19, 24, 26
Kazantzes, Konstantinos 205
Kern, H. 202, 204
Khulenbeck, L. 204
Kind, Karl Theodor 219
Kolettis, Ioannis 12, 38
Kolokotronis, Theodoros 47, 150, 153, 155
Kolokotronis, Theodoros Gennaiou (Falez) 153, 155
Kontos, Konstantinos S. 192
Korais, Adamantios 34, 38, 53–54, 83–84, 87–88, 92, 95, 143–144, 219
Koster, Edward B. 204
Koubourlis, Giannis 147n
Kougeas, Sokrate 230n
Koukoules, Phédon 230n, 231
Koumoundouros, Alexandros 178
Kretschmer, Paul 228
Kriaras, Emmanouil 230n
Krumbacher, Karl 23, 26, 89n, 181, 215, 222–224, 226–232
Krystallis, Kostas 153, 154n, 206
Kydoniotis, Dimitrios 197

Labaste, Henri 229
Laborde, Léon de 76
Lacombe, Hilaire de 250
Lamartine, Alphonse de 173, 257
Lamber, Juliette, *see* Adam, Juliette
Lambert-van der Kolf, J.A. 210
Lambros, Spyridon 148–149, 152, 156, 200, 209n, 223n, 224, 229
Latas, Dionysios 153, 155
Le Grec (pen name), *see* Papadopoulos Vretos, Marinos
Leake, William Martin 84
Lebrun, Pierre-Antoine 255
Legrand, Émile 90–91, 93, 95, 145–146, 148–149, 205, 215, 217, 223–224, 228
Lemaître, Jules 112
Lenormant, Charles 37
Lenormant, François 172
Lerminier, Eugène 68, 70
Lévêque, Charles 37
Littré, Émile 54, 111
Livadas 156
Louis-Philippe I^er^ 257
Loverdo, Dionysius J. 141–142, 150, 152, 156–157
Loverdos, Ioannis D. 141n, 156
Luden, Heinrich 219
Lunzi 156

Mackridge, Peter 138n, 145n
Magnin, Charles 69
Marcellus, comte de 35, 37–38, 45–46, 58
Markoras, Gerasimos/Marcoras, Gérasimos 125, 206
Martinelis, Georgios 206
Marzials, Theo 141
Maurer, Ludwig von 218
Mauroy, Prosper 65, 66
McPherson, Florence 151
Mehler, E. 198
Mélas, Constantin 91, 93
Méline, Jules 258
Ménard, Louis-Nicolas 111
Mento, F. di 204, 206
Mérimée, Prosper 34, 37, 46
Meurice, Paul 253
Meylaerts, Reine 62
Michelet, Jules 85
Miliopoulos, I.P. 228
Miliori, Margarita 139
Miller, Emmanuel 93, 216
Miller, William 229
Millerand, Alexandre 258
Milton, John 206
Miniatis, George 49
Mistriotis, Georgios 224, 231
Mitsakis, Michael 207
Mitsopoulos, Christos 114
Mitsopoulos, Iraklis 220
Mitsotakis, I.K. 205
Mitsou, Marie-Élisabeth (also Marilisa) 23–24, 139
Mitzschke, Paul 204, 206
Moraïtinis, Pierre A. 178, 180, 182
Moullas, Panagiotis 85
Moustoxidis, Andreas 156, 182
Moüy, Charles de 114, 127
Mullac, F.W.A. 221
Müller, Hans 201
Muller, Hendrik Clemens 25, 191, 195–202, 204–210
Muller, Joan 196
Muller, Otfried 77
Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker) 196
Muratori, Ludovico 180
Murray, John 44
Musurus Pasha 147

Napoleon III (Louis Napoléon Bonaparte) 39–40, 42, 52, 72
Neroulos/Néroulos, Iakovos (also Jakovaky/Iakovakis) Rizos 50, 92, 95, 174, 219, 230
Nerval, Gérard de 257
Nicod de Ronchaud, Louis-François 111
Nicolai, Rudolf 221
Nicolas II de Russie 243
Nieuwenhuis, Ferdinand Domela 196

Oerlemans, Frans 185
Oikonomides, Dimitrios E. 205

Okrent, Arika 193
Orfanidis, Theodoros G. 73–76, 174–175
Orpheus/Orphée 78
Othon, roi de Grèce, *see* Otto, King of Greece
Otto, King of Greece 12, 38, 43, 52, 72, 217n

Palamas, Kostis 153, 206, 209, 221
Papadiamantis, Alexandros 207
Papadimitrakopoulos, Theodoros 195, 205
Papadopoulos Vretos, Andreas 34
Papadopoulos Vretos, Marinos 26, 33–55
Papadopoulos-Kérameus, Athanase 229
Papageorgiou, Petros N. 228, 229n
Paparrigopoulos, Dimitrios 175, 221
Paparrigopoulos, Konstantinos 86, 90, 117, 143, 147
Paraschos, Achilleas 153–154, 155n
Parmenidis, Christos Anastasiadis 48
Parnassos Philological Society (Athens) 143n, 145, 201, 208, 222
Parren, Callirhoe 200
Passow, Arnold 146
Pauli, Reinhold 149
Pavolini, P. E. 204, 206
Pei, Mario 193
Pennington, G. T. 194
Pergialitis, Giannis (pen name), *see* Giannoukos, Ioannis G.
Perrot, Georges 73, 88
Pharmacopoulos, Pierre 114
Pharmakidis, Theoklitos 219
Pharmakopoulos, Andreas P. 200, 202, 205
Philhellenic Society of Amsterdam 25, 191–193, 195–199, 201, 205, 207–210
Piccolos, Nikolaos 71
Pieri, Mario 182
Pindarus 68
Piscatory, Théobald 38
Plato 75, 173
Polak, H.J. 210
Polemis, Ioannis 206
Politis, Georgios A. 200, 205
Politis, Linos 230n
Politis, Nikolaos G. 78, 153, 222–223, 229
Polycandrioti, Ourania 19, 22
Polylas, Iakovos (also Jacob) 153, 154
Pop, Konstantinos 48
Preger, Theodor 229
Prometheus 69
Protonotari, Francesco 170
Proust, Antonin 40, 52
Provata, Despina 19, 25, 26, 27
Provelengios, Aristomenis 206, 223
Psichari, Jean/Psycharis, Giannis 27, 113, 120, 123, 125, 144, 208–209, 215, 217, 222–224, 228, 230n
Putzker, Albin 205

Queux de Saint-Hilaire, Marquis de 92, 95, 122, 124, 125, 126
Quinet, Edgar 68, 254

Rangavis, Alexandros Rizos/ Rangabé, Alexandre Rizos 48–49, 93, 114, 121, 174, 195, 198–200, 205–206, 220, 222, 230n
Rangavis, Cleon Rizos/ Rangabé, Cléon Rizos 114, 205–206
Renieris, Markos/Renieri, Marco 53–54, 117, 194–195
Reyer, Constantino 199, 204, 207
Rhigas, Pheraios 50, 150
Rhoidis, Emmanuel 153–154
Richard, Louis 127
Rochefort, Henri 255
Rodocanachi, Emmanuel Pierre 118n, 125
Roessel, David 158
Rogge, Y.H. 202
Romanos, Athos 114
Romas, Dionysios 156
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel 206
Rostand, Edmond 253
Rotas, Xenophon 34
Rüdiger, W. 206
Ruelle, Charles-Émile 90

Sachlikis, Stefanos 91
Saint-Amand, Imbert de 73
Saint-Victor, Paul de 111
Salisbury, Lord (3rd Marquess of Salisbury) 243
Salmas, Panagiotis 206
Salomos, *see* Solomos, Dionysios
Salvadori, Carlo 202, 204
Sand, George 72–73, 107
Sanders, Daniel 220, 226n, 230n
Sardellis, A. 205
Sarcey, Francisque 125, 126
Sathas, Konstantinos N. 86, 90, 93, 95, 147–149, 224n
Scalora, Francesco 19, 21
Schaub, Charles 49
Schleyer, Johann Martin 193
Schmidt, Bernhard 146
Schmidt, Johann Adolf Erdmann 220, 226n
Ségur-Dupeyron, Pierre de 66
Semmola, Tommaso 174
Shakespeare, William 151, 153
Sissa, Luciano 174
Skylitsis, Ioannis Isidoridis 48
Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies 24, 83, 93–94, 192
Solomos, Dionysios 19, 48–49, 74, 146, 151, 154–157, 173, 206, 220
Sophocles 139, 142, 173
Sophocles, E.A. 143
Sotiriadis, Georgios 205, 223
Souris, Georgios 206
Southey, Robert 152
Soutsos, Alexandros 48, 92, 152, 178
Soutsos, Panagiotis 48, 53, 221
Soyter, Gustav 230
Sponnek, count 35
Stamatelos 156

Stanislas, Julien 48
Stéphanidis, Vassilios 229
Stéphanopoli, Antonios Zannetakis 114, 120
Stéphanopoli, Jeanne 114
Stiévenart, Jean-François 84
Streit, Georges 245–246
Strzygowski, Josef 224n, 229
Swaving, P.J. 202
Syngros, Andreas 199

Tacite 70n
Tantalidis, Ilias 48
Telfy, J.B. 194, 205
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord 156
Tertsetis, Georgios 85, 150
Terzo, Benedetto Saverio 174
Teza, Emilio 173, 175, 180
Theotokopoulos, Dominikos (El Greco) 49
Thibaudet, Albert 129
Thiersch, Friedrich 218–219
Thucydides 68
Thumb, Albert 221, 228
Tolias, George 138, 139n
Tommaseo, Niccolò 175
Tozer, Henry Fanshawe 26, 93–94, 141–142, 143n, 144–152, 154–155, 157
Triandafillis, Costantino 174–175
Trikoupis, Charilaos 14, 114, 119, 128, 201
Trikoupis, Spyridon 197
Trivulgio di Belgiojoso, Christina 72
Türr, Étienne (István Türr) 117
Typaldos, Aimilios 182
Typaldos, Ioulios (also Julius) 142, 144, 146n, 152, 154, 156, 182

Ullmann, Victor 253
Uspenskij, Th. 224n

Valaoritis/Valaorites, Aristotelis 19, 73–74, 92, 144, 152, 154–157, 206, 221
Valetas, Ioannis 54
Valeton, I.M.J. 204
Valieri, Gerassimos 199
Valon, Alexis de 69n
Van Lennep, Pieter Charles 210
Vapéreau, Gustave 36
Varelas, Lambros 19, 25–26, 154n
Vasmer, Max 228
Vassiliadis, Spyridon 124
Vassos, Timoléon 251
Veis, Nikos A. 230–231
Venizélos, Elefthérios 251
Vermorel, Auguste 40
Victor Emmanuel II, King of Italy 40
Viesse de Marmont, Auguste-Frédéric Louis 70
Vieusseux, Gian Pietro 21, 169–171
Vilaras, Ioannis 54
Villemain, Abel-François 34, 88, 92
Villoison, Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de 88, 216
Virgil 53
Vizyenos, Georgios 124, 152–155, 207, 222
Vlachos, Nikolaos 197–198
Vlasto, Antoine D. 118
Vosmaer, Carel 200

Wagner, Wilhelm 93, 141–143, 145–146, 148, 156, 221, 223n
Wilde, Oscar 93
William, Prince 41
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim 23

Xanthoudidis, Stéfanos 229

Yéméniz, Eugène 21n, 49, 74–76

Zalokostas, Georgios 20, 47–48, 73–75, 152, 155n
Zambakos, Dimitrios 35
Zambaldi, Francesco 179
Zambelios, Ioannis/Zambelli, John 156
Zambelios/Zambélios/Zambelli, Spyridon/Spiridion 86, 117, 143, 156
Zamenhof, Z.Z. 193
Zappas, Konstantinos 199
Zerlentis, Périclès 229
Ziebarth, Erich 231
Zinkeisen, J.W. 218
Zografos, Christakis 91, 192
Zwaanswijk, M. 197, 202, 204

Index of Places

Acropolis 44–45, 50–51, 84, 202
Africa/Afrique 70
Akrotiri 251, 253
Amsterdam 25, 191–193, 195–198, 200–202, 204, 207, 209, 222, 232
Arménie 245, 250, 258
Asia Minor/Asie Mineure 67, 70, 73
Asia/Asie 67, 226
Athens/Athènes 12, 33–39, 43–45, 47, 50–54, 65, 68, 71–72, 76, 78, 81, 86, 92, 114, 119, 122, 127–128, 140, 144–145, 155, 174–175, 178, 192, 195, 201, 205, 208, 216, 220, 222, 224, 228–229, 231–232, 252, 256
Austria-Hungary/Autriche-Hongrie 120, 207, 251

Balkans 14–15, 17, 20, 22, 27, 68, 70–71, 110, 115, 138, 143, 230, 241–243, 255, 257
Batavia 204
Belgium 39, 40, 197
Berkeley 205
Berlin 112, 117, 138, 177, 204–205, 221, 241–245, 256
Bordeaux 253
Bosphore 114
Brighton 205
Britain, *see* Great Britain/Grande Bretagne
Brussels 39–40
Bucharest 205
Budapest 205
Bulgaria/Bulgarie 76, 242

Cairo 71
Candie 247–248
Chios 75, 150
Constantinople 12, 38, 86, 91–93, 114, 199, 205, 229, 244, 252, 256
Corfu 33–34, 154, 182, 204
Crete/Crète 12–14, 20, 73, 115, 117, 120, 129, 138, 141, 146, 148, 184, 241–242, 244–253, 255, 258
Cyprus 67

Darmstadt 204
Denmark 41
Dilessi 112, 138
Doetinchem 204

Egypt/Égypte 70, 118
England/Angleterre, *see* Great Britain/Grande Bretagne
Epirus/Épire 12, 15, 74, 117, 124, 138, 177, 205, 243, 254

Florence 21, 169, 170, 182
France 12–14, 16, 18, 24, 26, 33–40, 42, 44, 52, 55, 65–66, 68–72, 74, 76, 83–85, 87–88, 90–92, 95, 107–110, 113, 114, 118, 120, 124, 125, 127–129, 147–148, 157, 177, 192, 195, 208, 210, 215–218, 220, 231–232, 242–243, 248–251, 254–255, 257–258
Francfort 221
Fribourg 221, 228

Galaţi 225
Geneva 50
Germany/Allemagne 16, 18, 23–24, 85, 88, 147–148, 157, 181, 195, 215, 217–218, 220, 222, 230–232, 242–244, 251
Göttingen 218
Grand Duchy of Tuscany 169
Great Britain/Grande Bretagne 12, 16, 18, 37, 40, 42, 44, 54, 72, 83, 88, 95–96, 120, 138, 146–147, 150, 152, 172, 192, 199, 205, 210, 242–243, 245–246, 248–249, 251

Halepa 245
Halle 200, 204
Hambourg 231
Hanovre 221
Heptanese, *see* Ionian Islands
Héraklion 232
Hermoupolis (Syros) 205, 229
Herzegovina 76
Holland/Hollande, *see* Netherlands

Iéna 218–219
Ioannina 205
Ionian Islands/Îles Ioniennes 13, 72–74, 92, 118, 141–142, 152–153, 155–157, 172–173, 206
Italy/Italie 16, 18, 49, 53, 143, 149, 167–173, 175–176, 178, 180–185, 207, 242, 251

Kos 70

La Canée 246–248, 251
Lausanne 205
Leiden/Leyde 191–192, 196, 201, 204, 209, 232
Leipzig 218, 220, 222–223, 228, 230
Levant 67, 249
Lille 253
Limnos 70
Livorno 34–35
London/Londres 24, 49, 91, 93, 138, 152, 155, 192, 199, 253, 256
Lyon 74, 253

Maastricht 197
Macedonia/Macédoine 12, 14–15, 115, 124, 129, 138, 244, 249, 252, 255
Madrid 71
Manchester 253
Marseille/Marseilles 34–35, 91, 253
Mediterranean/Méditerranée 12, 15, 22, 25, 67–68, 70–71, 172, 194, 202, 205, 248
Missolonghi 49
Moldova 70
Montenegro/Monténégro 76, 242
Montpellier 34, 253
Morée, *see* Peloponnese/Péloponnèse
Munich 218, 222–223, 226, 229–231, 239
Mytilène 229

Nafplio (Greece) 31, 166, 205
Naples (Italy) 200, 205, 221
Navarin 255
Netherlands 16, 18, 191–192, 197, 199–201, 208, 210
New York 30, 166, 205
Nice 34
Nijmegen 197
Nohant 73

Orient 52–53, 111–113, 115, 117, 129, 216, 226, 241–243, 245, 248–250
Osnabrück 204
Ottoman Empire/Empire ottoman 12, 14, 41, 67, 69–71, 87, 110, 112, 114–115, 118–120, 223, 226, 228, 242–246, 250, 252, 256
Oxford 140–141

Palermo 174
Paris 24, 33–36, 38–41, 49–50, 54, 83, 85, 91, 93, 108–109, 113, 124, 126, 129, 178, 192, 195, 215, 218, 222, 228, 232, 246, 253–254, 256
Pays-Bas 228
Peloponnese/Péloponnèse 73, 127–129, 146
Philippoupolis 205
Piraeus 12, 37, 50, 197
Pisa 34, 173

Ragusa 70
Rhodes 70
Rolduc 204
Romania/Roumanie 199, 205, 242
Rome 71, 170, 176, 178, 181–182, 204
Russia/Russie 12–13, 15, 42, 70, 114, 120, 199, 242–244, 246, 248, 251, 255

Saint-Pétersbourg 228, 229, 232
San Stefano 242–243
Serbia/Serbie 76, 242
Serres 229
Sicily 182
Smyrna 93, 199
Spain 149

Taganrog 91
Tenedos 70
Thessaloniki 62, 214, 229
Thessaly/Thessalie 12, 14–15, 117, 119, 124, 127, 138, 243
Toulouse 253
Trieste 204
Turkey/Turquie, *see* Ottoman Empire/Empire ottoman

Vamos 246, 248
Venice 174–175, 180, 182

Wageningen 204
Wallachia 70
Weimar 204
Woerden 202

Zante 49, 91, 153, 156
Zwolle 198

Index of Newspapers and Periodicals

Academy, The (London) 19, 21–22, 137–142, 145–146, 148, 150, 154–155, 157–159
Algemeen Handelsblad (Amsterdam) 200
Allgemeine Preußische Zeitung (Berlin) 218
Amsterdammer, De (Amsterdam) 167, 201, 209
Angelos: Archiv für Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte und Kulturkunde (Leipzig) 231
Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France (Paris) 19, 24, 88–93, 95–96, 192, 216–217
Annuaire encyclopédique: politique, économie sociale, statistique, administration, sciences, littérature, beaux-arts, agriculture, commerce, industrie (Paris) 36
Antologia. Al Gabinetto Scientifico e Letterario di G.P. Vieusseux (Florence) 21, 169–171
Athenaeum français, L' (Paris) 36
Athenaeum, The (London) 139
Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung (Munich) 231
Bulletin de la Société de géographie (Paris) 38
Byzantinische Zeitschrift (also *BZ*) (Munich) 23, 181, 215, 224, 228, 232
Correspondant, Le (Paris) 250
Croix, La (Paris) 250, 254, 258
Cronaca Bizantina (Rome) 181–182
Deutsche Litteraturzeitung (Berlin) 231
Éclair, L' (Paris) 252
Figaro, Le (Paris) 248–249, 252
Fremden Zungen, Aus (Stuttgart) 231
Fremdenblatt (Vienna) 243
Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel. Journal officiel de l'Empire français (Paris) 36
Gesellschaft, Die (Munich) 222
Giambattista Vico: Giornale Scientifico,Il (Napoli) 174
Grenzboten, Die (Leipzig) 231
Hellas (Hamburg) 231
Hellas Jahrbuch (Hamburg) 231
Illustration. Journal universel, L' (Paris) 36
Intransigeant, L' (Paris) 253–255
Jahrbücher für Philologie (Leipzig) 219
Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires (Paris) 249, 252, 258
Journal of Hellenic Studies, The (also *JHS*) (London) 24, 93–95
Journal pour tous, Le (Paris) 36
Journal, Le (Paris) 256
Lanterne, La (Paris) 249n, 253n
Literarische Echo, Das (Stuttgart and Berlin) 231
Mémorial diplomatique, Le (Paris) 248
Messager d'Athènes, Le (Athens) 114
Moniteur Grec, Le (Athens) 38
Nederlandsch Staatsblad (Amsterdam) 201
Nederlandsche Spectator, De (Amsterdam) 197, 200
Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum (Leipzig and Berlin) 231
Nineteenth century. A monthly review, The 138
Nouvelle Revue, La (also *NR*) (Paris) 19, 27, 107–110, 115–119, 121–122, 124–129, 177
Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti (also *NA*) (Florence) 19, 21, 167, 170–172, 174–184
Parole française à l'étranger (Paris) 112n
Petit Marseillais (Marseille), 115
Presse, Die (Vienna) 243
Preußische Staatszeitung (Berlin) 218
Rappel, Le (Paris) 252, 253n
Recht voor Allen (Amsterdam) 196
Revue de Paris (Paris) 66
Revue des Deux Mondes (also *RdDM*) (Paris) 19, 22, 65–69, 72–73, 109

Revue des études grecques (Paris) 88, 192, 216
Revue française (Paris) 36
Rivista Europea, La (Florence) 177
Rivista Filologico-Letteraria (Verona) 175
Saturday Review, The (London) 139
Semaine Universelle, La (Brussels) 39–41
Siècle, Le (Paris) 252
Spectateur de l'Orient, Le (Athens) 49
Temps, Le (Paris) 243, 248, 252n, 253n, 254, 255n
Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft (Göttingen) 219
Zeitung für das höhere Unterrichtswesen (Halle) 200
Αθηνά [Athéna] (Athens) 254
Ακρόπολις [Acropolis] (Athens) 200
Άστυ, Το [La Cité] (Athens) 114
Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον [National Almanac] (also *EH*) (Paris) 33, 37, 40, 54–55
Ελλάς/Hellas (Leiden) 19, 25, 191–192, 196–203, 209–211
Έσπερος [Hesperus] (Leipzig) 197, 200
Εστία [Hestia] (Athens) 124
Εφημερίς της Ερμουπόλεως [The Newspaper of Hermoupolis] (Syros, Greece) 201
Εφημερίς των Κυριών [The Ladies' Newspaper] (Athens) 200
Λόγιος Ερμής [Hermes the Scholar] (Leiden/Athens) 192
Νέον Άστυ, Το [La Nouvelle Cité] (Athens) 114
Νουμάς, Ο [Noumas] (Athens) 221–222, 231
Ολύμπια, Τα [Olympia] (Athens) 231
Περιοδικόν μας, Το [Notre Revue] (Piraeus) 231
Ποικίλη Στοά, Η [Le Poecile] (Athens) 114
Τέχνη, Η [L' Art] (Athens) 222, 231